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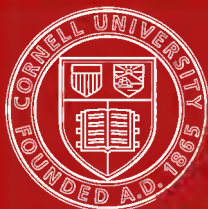
DELIVERED AT THE

Seneca County Centennial Celebration

—AT—

WATERLOO, SEPTEMBER 3rd, 1879.

REV. DAVID CRAFT.



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WATERLOO, N. Y.

FROM THE OBSERVER BOOK AND JOB PRINTING HOUSE.

1880.



MAJOR GEN. SULLIVAN'S CAMPAIGN.

Rev. David Craft's Historical Address,

—DELIVERED AT THE—

SENECA COUNTY CELEBRATION,

WATERLOO, N. Y.

SEPTEMBER 8rd, 1879.

MR. PRESIDENT :

In the current of human history, there arise great events which materially modify the structure of society, turn the stream of national life into new channels, give a new coloring to national character, and secure development of new resources. They are the events which designate historical epochs, and become focal dates to mark the progress of civilization, and trace the development of social and national life.

Such an event, to this country, was the Sullivan Expedition. It marks the beginning of a new era in the history of this Empire State. It determined, at a single blow, whether white men or red men should hold domination over these fertile vales and along these streams, and over these lakes and mountains. At a single stroke it solved the question, whether the American Indian, with

his deeply rooted prejudices, with his unconquerable aversion to civilization, with his undisguised hatred for the religion and the culture of the European, was longer to stand in the way of human progress; whether he was longer to maintain a barrier, as immovable as his own nature, to the advancement of the institutions and the ideas of the white man, or whether he must go down before the antagonism of another race, which was every day gathering new strength and preparing itself for a fresh onset.

To whichever party our sympathy may cling, in whatever speculations the philanthropist may indulge, whatever charges of cruelty, of greed, of rapacity, may be made against the white man, we shudder to think what might have been the fate of free institutions on this western continent, had the wager of battle between the races, at that awful crisis, given victory to the vanquished.

When this country was first known to the whites, the territory bounded on the north by the St. Lawrence, on the east by the Hudson and Delaware, on the south by the Potomac, and on the west by the great lakes, was inhabited by nations, which from their language, general customs and traditions, seemed to be more closely related to each other, than to the nations which surrounded them. The confederated Five Nations, or as they are commonly called, the Iroquois, occupied the north-east portion of this territory, having the Eries and Hurons on the west, and on the south the Andastes, tribes living along the Susquehanna. These powerful neighbors had greatly diminished the strength of the Iroquois, and well-nigh reduced them to a condition of vassalage, and more than once had even driven them from their ancestral seats.

For mutual protection the Five Nations of Central New York, viz: the Mohawks, the Oneidas, the Onondagas, the Cayugas, and the Senecas, entered into a

confederation, and in a rude way, anticipated the great Federal Republic which is to-day exercising such controlling power over the affairs of this continent, and such mighty influence over the nations of the earth. By means of the mutual aid they were thus able to give each other, and of the rifle, which traders sold to the Mohawks prior to 1620, the Iroquois soon began to assert their independence, then to make war upon their neighbors, and in a few years, instead of being vassals, they became masters, and either exterminated or brought into subjugation, not only their former conquerors, but carried their conquests to the Mississippi on the west and to the Gulf on the south.

When the English assumed control of New York, they authorities sent a delegation to the Great Council* of the Iroquois, informing them that their difficulties with the British king related to the white people alone, and as it did not concern the Indians, they ought to be neutral in the contest. To this policy the Great Council agreed; and it was declared that some of their chiefs even offered their services to the Americans, which, however, the commissioners firmly, though kindly, declined.

Sir William Johnson, Baronet, the popular British Indian agent, died June 24, 1774, and his son, John, succeeded to his titles and estates, and his son-in-law, Col. Guy Johnson, succeeded to the Indian agency. Col. John Butler, a speculator in Indian lands, whose father had been a warm friend of the Baronet's, was a near and wealthy neighbor of the Johnsons; these were all active loyalists, and in connection with Sir Guy Carlton, then Governor of Canada, began to persuade the Iroquois to take up the hatchet in aid of the British king. The celebrated Mohawk warrior, Joseph Brant, who had been

*A formal conference and treaty was held by commissioners of the congress, to-wit: Gen. Schuyler, Col. Turbut Francis, Col. Wolcott, Mr. Douw and others, with the Iroquois at Albany, N. Y., August, 1775. A full account may be found in "Stone's Life of Brant;" Vol. I. Appendix No. 2.

elevated to the military chieftaincy of his nation, and won over to the side of the British government, from which he had received a captain's commission, was lending all of his powerful influence to the side of the crown.* Rev. Samuel Kirkland, a missionary among the Oneidas, succeeded, however, in preventing a part of that nation, the Stockbridge Indians and a part of the Tuscaroras, from taking up arms against the States, and subsequently some of them joined the Americans—Captain Jehoiacim with a few Stockbridge Indians, and Han-yerry, an Oneida, with some of his nation, being connected with the Sullivan expedition as guides, as also a chief called Captain Print, who acted as interpreter. Without going into the particulars of the negotiations, it is sufficient to say that, through this defection of the Iroquois, about 1,200 Indian warriors were brought into the field to strengthen the British forces.

As early as 1775, Sir John Johnson and Col. John Butler called a secret council of the Indians at Oswego, which was attended principally by the Senecas and Cayugas, who henceforth, became prominent in their opposition to the Colonists, and foremost in the various marauds made against the frontier settlements.

In the early part of the year 1776, Sir John Johnson fled to Canada, where he was commissioned a Colonel in the British service, and raised a command of two battalions, composed mostly of Scotchmen, living near Johnstown, who had accompanied him in his flight, and of other American loyalists, who subsequently followed their example. From the color of their uniform they

*There is good reason also to believe that, aside from the long alliance and friendship with the British Government, the demoralizing effect of British gold and British rum, and the great influence of Brant, that the Iroquois themselves had begun to feel the mortification of having their own subjects, aided as they often were by the Colonial Government, maintain a successful revolt against their authority, and their alliance with the British meant, ultimately, the assurance of English rule over the white people, and of Iroquois supremacy over the Indians on this continent.

were called "Royal Greens." Johnson became not only one of the most active, but one of the bitterest foes of his own countrymen, of any who were engaged in the contest, and was repeatedly the scourge of his own former neighbors.

Besides the regularly enlisted and uniformed companies of Greens or Rangers, a considerable number of disaffected people had been driven from the border settlements by the Whigs, as public enemies, and became refugees about the British camps and garrisons. These by the patriots were called "Tories." They, burning with rage toward the Whigs, and frequently disguised as Indians, either in company with them, or in bands by themselves, kept up a predatory or guerilla warfare along the frontiers and in cruelty and inhumanity far exceeded the savages themselves.

Of Joseph Brant, or Thayendanegea, as the Indians called him, who acted so conspicuous a part on our frontiers during the Revolutionary war, a few words need be said. Of more than average natural gifts, he had enjoyed peculiar advantages for their cultivation. His sister, Molly, being the mistress of Sir William Johnson, that gentleman secured for him a fair English education, and afterward gave him a responsible position connected with the Indian agency, which he held until the beginning of the war. About that time he made a visit to England, where he was received with marked attention by the nobility and English people, and was persuaded that the ancient treaties between the Iroquois and the British bound him to support the crown in its struggle with the Colonies. Brant returned to America an avowed ally of the British government.

He was descended from a Sachem of the Mohawks, and attained the high honor of being recognized as the war chief of the Confederacy, a position the highest and the most honorable to which an Iroquois could aspire. As

the leader of his dusky warriors, he was foremost in the fray, exhaustless in expedients to harass his enemy, of tireless energy, of dauntless courage, of lofty and chivalrous bearing, commanding the fullest confidence of his people, a tower of strength to his friends and a terror to his foes. Even after the lapse of a century, the mere mention of his name calls up recollections of slaughter and massacres, of plunder and pillage, of burning and devastation, for which men still execrate his name and stigmatize his memory.

With such a horde of white men and red, of Indian warriors, refugees, Tories, uniformed militia, and a few regular troops, men whose passions were inflamed with intensest hatred against the patriots, who were stimulated to deeds of reckless bravery by hope of plunder, who were encouraged to a mad rivalry with each other in acts of savage barbarism and merciless cruelty—with such a horde, whose battle-cry was “No quarter,” and whose purpose was extermination, without military discipline and without susceptibility of control, let loose upon the scattered and unprotected settlements on the frontiers, British Generals and British statesmen sought to subdue the rebellion in their western colonies, and crush out life and liberty from the new born nation.

The great event of 1777, was the invasion of Burgoyne, and the defeat and capture of his army. In this campaign the forces under Butler and Brant were with St. Leger in the siege of Fort Schuyler, and were engaged in the battle of Oriskany.

Although the Iroquois had shamefully broken their pledge to remain neutral during the contest between the Colonies and the mother country, yet Congress determined to make a still further effort to secure their good will, and sent a deputation to meet them at Johnstown in March, 1778. It was estimated that seven hundred savages were at this council, but of these there were only

three or four Cayugas and not a single Seneca. The latter nation not only refused to attend the conference, but sent a most insolent message, in which they affected great surprise, using their own language, "that while our tomahawks were sticking in their heads, (meaning the Continentals,) their wounds bleeding and their eyes streaming with tears for the loss of their friends at German Flats, (Oriskany,) the commission should think of inviting them to a treaty." In his life of Brant, Colonel Stone says, "While the impression at the time seemed to be that the Oneidas, the Tuscaroras and the Onondagas would remain neutral and restrain their warriors from taking part with the British, the commissioners left the council under the full persuasion that from the Senecas, the Cayugas, and the greater part of the Mohawks, nothing but revenge for their lost friends and tarnished glory at Oriskany and Fort Schuyler, was to be anticipated."

This year, 1778, was marked by a series of attacks on the most important frontier towns in New York and Pennsylvania. In January, predatory excursions were begun against the settlers on the Susquehanna, and before the close of spring, of more than a hundred families scattered along the river above the Lackawanna, not one remained. Then came the destruction of Wyoming, and the piteous tale of sorrow and distress and death had hardly been told when there followed in swift succession the destruction of Andrustown, of the German Flats and of Cherry Valley. As the terror-stricken fugitives fled to the adjoining settlements, they told with every conceivable exaggeration, the story of their sufferings, and the hideous cruelty and savageness of both Tory and Indian. Every messenger from the frontiers brought a new tale of butchery, of prisoners tortured, of scenes where every refinement of cruelty was in sharp competition with the most shocking barbarism. This enemy in the rear, though of despicable character and of but little strength, when meas-

ured by the ordinary military standard, yet proved to be far more annoying than the more formidable forces under Clinton and Howe.

During the winter of 1778-79, bands of savages or disguised Tories were incessantly prowling around the border settlements, keeping the people in constant alarm and terror. Military men began to discuss the feasibility of what had for a year been advocated by Washington—carrying the war into the enemy's country. It was argued that the surest and easiest way to protect the border settlements, was to weaken the power of the adversary. It was known that in the fertile valleys of the Genesee and along the lakes of Central New York, large crops of corn and other vegetables were raised, not for the support of the Indians alone, but as supplies for the British army. It was thought that if these crops should be destroyed, and the Indians driven back upon the British garrisons which were maintained at Niagara and Oswego, it would largely increase the expense of the British government in carrying on the war, embarrass their operations through the failure of their expected supplies, place a greater distance between the Indians and the frontiers, and teach them wholesome lessons of the power of the colonies to visit upon them the vengeance which their cruelties deserved. The territory it was proposed to lay waste was that occupied by the Senecas and Cayugas, the two most powerful nations of the Iroquois, and the most haughty and implacable in their enmity to the people of the States.

In the autumn, of 1778, the New York authorities had determined to send a strong force into the very heart of the Iroquois country, to punish severely the Mohawks and Onondagas for their breach of faith, and their cruelties upon the patriot frontiersmen, but it was abandoned on account of the lateness of the season. In September, however, Colonel Thomas Hartley of the Eleventh Penn-

sylvania Regiment, with about two hundred men, penetrated the Indian country by the way of the West Branch, the Lycoming and Towanda Creeks as far as Tioga, intending to form a junction with a detachment from General Clinton's Brigade. But finding the enemy in force at Chemung, and not meeting the expected reinforcements, after recovering some property stolen by the savages, he retired to Wyoming, reaching that place October 1, in safety. The subject was formally brought to the attention of Congress, and that body, Feb. 27, 1779, passed a resolution authorizing General Washington to take the most effectual measures for protecting the inhabitants of the States and chastising the Indians. The Commander-in-Chief determined to carry out this resolution with vigor. General Hand, Colonel Zebulon Butler, of Wyoming, each of whom had extensive knowledge of the Indian country, were consulted. Lieutenant (afterwards Colonel,) John Jenkins, by profession a surveyor, who had recently been a captive among the Indians, and had traveled over the very country into which it was proposed to send the army, was able to give information of great value, and was retained as chief guide to the expedition.

The plan of the campaign contemplated the entire destruction of everything upon which the Indians depended for food or shelter. The invading army was to enter the Indian country in three divisions; one from the south up the Susquehanna; the other from the east down that river, the third from the west by the way of the Alleghany. These were to form a junction at some convenient point, advance against the strongholds of the enemy in such force as could not possibly be resisted, and then overrun the whole Iroquois country west of the Oneida villages.

In a letter to the President of Congress dated April 14, 1779, Washington says: "The plan of operations for the campaign being determined, a commanding officer was to

be appointed for the Indian expedition. This command, according to all present appearances, will probably be of the second, if not of the first, importance of the campaign. The officer conducting it has a flattering prospect of acquiring more credit than can be expected by any other this year; and he has the best reason to hope for success. Gen. Lee, from his situation, was out of the question; Gen. Schuyler, (who, by the way, would have been most agreeable to me), was so uncertain of continuing in the army, that I could not appoint him; Gen. Putnam I need not mention. I therefore made the offer of it, for the appointment could no longer be delayed, to Gen. Gates, who was next in seniority, though perhaps I might have avoided it, if I had been so disposed, from his having a command by the special appointment of Congress. My letter to him on the occasion, I believe you will think was conceived in very candid and polite terms, and it merited a different answer from the one given to it."

Washington had written to Gates on the 6th of March, who answered: "Last night I had the honor of your Excellency's letter. The man who undertakes the Indian service, should enjoy youth and strength; requisites I do not possess. It therefore grieves me that your Excellency should offer me the only command to which I am entirely unequal. In obedience to your command I have forwarded your letter to Gen. Sullivan.

Sullivan* accepted the command and immediately be-

*Major-General John Sullivan was born at Somersworth, in New Hampshire, on the opposite side of the river from Berwick, in Maine, February 18, 1740, and was at the date of the expedition 39 years of age. He had acquired a good education under the direction of his father, who was a school teacher, and commenced the practice of law at Durham, N. H., which continued to be his place of residence until his death. In 1772, he was Major of the New Hampshire Regiment. In 1774 and 1775 he was delegate to Congress, and by that body was appointed Major-General in July, 1776. His courage, bravery and skill were unquestioned. He enjoyed the confidence of Washington and his compatriots. His conduct in this expedition was the subject of severe criticism in certain circles, and characterized as vandal and unmilitary. His usual practice of firing a morning and evening gun, his destruction of the houses and orchards of the enemy, were declared to be unwise and unsoldierly. Sullivan bore these criticisms in patience.

gan preparing the details for the expedition. It was determined that the center or main division of the army should rendezvous at Wyoming, whence baggage and supplies could be transported to Tioga and beyond, by water. This division was to be made up of three Brigades—the New Jersey, commanded by Brigadier-General William Maxwell,* composed of the First regiment, under Colonel Matthias Ogden; the Second, under Colonel Israel Shreven; the Third, commanded by Colonel Elias Dayton, and the Independent or Fifth, better known from the name of its commander, as Colonel Oliver Spencer's Regiment; also David Forsman's Regiment, and Colonel Elisha Sheldon's Connecticut Riflemen, both subsequently merged into Spencer's Regiment. The Second was the New Hampshire Brigade, commanded by Brigadier-General

and, for the most part in silence; and such was his love for Washington, that never did he allude to the fact, in his own defense, that in those things for which he was blamed, he was acting under the express direction of the Commander-in-Chief, preferring rather himself to suffer in silence than that his beloved Washington should bear reproach. Owing to exposure in this expedition, and the derangement of his business growing out of his prolonged absence in the camp, he asked leave to retire from the army at the close of the campaign. But his subsequent life was largely spent in public business. In 1780 and 1781 he was a delegate to Congress, in 1782 was appointed Attorney-General, and re-appointed on the adoption of the new Constitution in 1784. In 1786 and 1787 he was President of the State. In 1788 he was Speaker of the House of Representatives of New Hampshire, and President of the Convention that ratified the Constitution of the United States. In 1789 he was Presidential Elector and voted for Washington; and in March of the same year was elected President of the State for the third time. In 1789, he was appointed by Washington, Judge of the District Court of New Hampshire, which office he held until his death, January 23, 1795, in the fifty-fifth year of his age.

*Brigadier-General William Maxwell, Commandant of the Jersey line, was a gentleman of refinement and an officer of high character. Of his personal history but little is known. It is believed he was born in Ireland, but at an early age was brought by his parents to New Jersey. When quite young he entered the military service, and at the breaking out of the Revolutionary war was made Colonel of the Second Battalion of the First Establishment, was with Montgomery in his Canada Campaign, promoted to Brigadier-General October, 1776, and commanded the Jersey Brigade in the battles of Brandywine and Germantown, and indeed all the battles in which the Jersey Brigade was engaged, until he resigned his commission, July, 1780. He died November, 1798.

Enoch Poor,* comprising from that State, the First Regiment, under Colonel Joseph Cilley; the Second, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel George Reid; the Third, or Scammel's Regiment, under command of Lieutenant Colonel Henry Dearborn; and the Second New York, commanded by Colonel Phillip Van Cortlandt. The third was a Brigade of Light Troops, under Brigadier-General Edward Hand, †composed of the Eleventh Pennsylvania Regiment, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Adam Hubley; the German Regiment, or what there was left of it, commanded by Major Daniel Burkhardt; Captain Simon Spalding's Independent Wyoming company; the Wyoming militia, under Captain,

*Brigadier-General Enoch Poor was born in Andover, Mass., June 21, 1736 but for most of his life resided in Exeter, N. H. Immediately after the battle of Lexington, New Hampshire resolved to raise three regiments, the third being placed under the command of Col. Poor. He was promoted to the rank of Brigadier by commission, dated February 21, 1777. In the indecisive but hard-fought battle of Stillwater, General Poor's Brigade was so closely engaged that it suffered more than two-thirds of the whole American loss in killed, wounded and missing. At the battle of Saratoga, General Poor led the attack. The vigor and gallantry of the charge, supported by an adroit and furious onset from Colonel Morgan, could not be resisted and the British line was soon broken. The year after the Sullivan Campaign, two brigades of Light Infantry chosen from the whole army were formed, the command of one of which, at the request of La Fayette, was given to Gen. Poor. He died of fever September 9, 1780, in camp at Hackensack, N. J., where he was buried the next day with military honors, greatly lamented by the army in which he was deservedly popular. General Washington declared him to be "an officer of distinguished merit, who as a citizen and a soldier, had every claim to the esteem of his country." It has been mentioned as no small tribute to his memory, that the Marquis La Fayette, on his second visit to this country, at a public entertainment, should have proposed the sentiment, "The memory of Light Infantry Poor and Yorktown Scammel."

†Brigadier-General Edward Hand, though the youngest of the Brigadiers, held the most important position in the command, next to Sullivan himself. Born in Ireland the last day of 1744, he entered the British army as Ensign, served for two years in his regiment in this country, then resigned and settled in Pennsylvania. At the beginning of the Revolution he entered the Continental service as Lieutenant-Colonel, but was made Colonel of a rifle corps in 1776, was in the battles of Long Island and Red Bank, and in the summer and fall of 1777 was in command at Mifflinsburg, where he acquired such knowledge of the Indian country and their modes of warfare as made his services indispensable to the expedition. Washington placed great confidence in his judgment and consulted him freely in regard to the feasibility of the enterprise. In 1780, he succeeded Scammel as Adjutant General of the army, and held the position until the close of the war. He was known as a lover of fine horses and an excellent horseman. He died in Lancaster County, Pa., September 3, 1802, aged 58 years.

(afterward Colonel,) John Franklin, and Schott's Rifle Corps, with Captain Selin in command. It was expected that the Pennsylvania and some other companies would be filled up by enlistment, when the whole number would be about 3,500 men. There was also a section of Artillery under command of Colonel Thomas Proctor* of Philadelphia.

The right division of the army was the New York Brigade, commanded by Brigadier-General James Clinton, consisting of the Third Regiment, under Colonel Peter Gansevoort, who in 1777 gained great renown for his heroic defense of Fort Schuyler against St. Leger; the Fourth, or Livingston's Regiment, under Lieutenant Colonel Frederick Weissenfeldt, the Fifth, or Independent Regiment, commanded by Colonel Lewis Dubois; the Sixth Massachusetts, or Alden's Regiment, commanded by Major Whiting; Colonel Ichabod Alden having been killed, the autumn previous, at Cherry Valley, and Lieutenant-Colonel Stacia being a prisoner with the enemy; the Fourth Pennsylvania Regiment, under Lieutenant-Colonel William Butler; six companies of Morgan's Riflemen, with Major James Parr the senior officer, and a small command under Colonel John Harper. The nominal strength of the Brigade was about 1,600 men.

The left division was to consist of troops at Pittsburg, numbering about 600 or 800 men, under command of Colonel Broadhead. As this force never became connected with the main army, and never received orders from General Sullivan, nothing further need be said of it.

Sullivan reached Easton, Pennsylvania, May 7, and the

*Colonel Thomas Proctor was born in Ireland, but in early life came to Philadelphia, where he worked at the trade of a carpenter, until the beginning of the war, when he raised a company, was commissioned captain, and was soon promoted to Colonel. He was a man of great executive ability and was frequently serviceable to the government in other than a military capacity. In 1791, he was sent on a mission to the Western Indians, which he performed to the satisfaction of the government. The journal kept while on this mission is printed in the New Series of Pennsylvania Archives, Volume VI.

next day writes to Washington, saying, "I will do everything in my power to set the wheels in motion, and make the necessary preparations for the army to move on." He adds, "the expedition is no secret in this quarter. A sergeant of Spencer's who was made prisoner at Mohacmoe and carried to Chemung, has just returned; he says they [the enemy] know of the expedition and are taking every step to destroy the communications on the Susquehanna. * * * I think the sooner we can get into the country the better." This last sentence is in allusion to the verbal instructions of Washington not to hasten his march from Easton until it was known what would be the future movement of D'Estaing, then in the West Indies, who was expected soon to sail north, and with whom the Commander-in-Chief wished to be ready to co-operate in striking some decisive blow upon the enemy. Sullivan was also directed to so time his movements that he should destroy the crops before the enemy could gather them, and at the same time be so late that they could neither rebuild nor replant. There was no need, however, to caution against too much haste, as it was past the middle of June before the road was opened from Easton to Wyoming.

In the meanwhile, some of the Jersey troops were in a state of mutiny because the authorities of that State had not only neglected to provide for the depreciation of the currency, but had failed to pay even the nominal sum in the almost worthless Continental paper money, due them for their services. It required all the address of the officers to quiet the minds of the soldiers, and Washington declared that nothing had occurred during the war, which so filled him with alarm. Spies from the enemy were also busily at work amongst the disaffected soldiers urging them to desert the army and betray their country. The apprehension of some of these and the execution of the ringleaders, put a stop to further desertion.

Difficulties of another sort began to present themselves. Many people in Pennsylvania had opposed the expedition from the first. The Quakers of Philadelphia, opposed to all war on principle, were specially averse to all measures which looked toward punishing the Indians, who, they alleged, were far more deserving of pity than blame for any excesses of which they might be guilty ; while what was known in that State, in the Wyoming controversy, as the Pennamite party, which included men possessing large wealth and much political influence, who held title under Pennsylvania for considerable tracts of land in the Wyoming Valley, upon which the Connecticut people had settled, while they professed to commiserate the sufferings of the people, did not hesitate to express their satisfaction at being clear of the hated "Intruders," and their perfect willingness that the Indians should keep them out of the disputed territory until the war was over. This opposition began to show itself early in the campaign, in the lack of hearty co-operation and the failure to furnish either their quota of men or supplies for the army.

On the 12th of June, Sullivan wrote to Washington, giving him, in detail, the difficulties he had been compelled to meet, who in reply says, (June 21st,) "I am very sorry you are like to be disappointed in the independent companies expected from Pennsylvania, and that you have encountered greater difficulties than you looked for. I am satisfied that every exertion in your power will be made and I hope that your eventual operations will be attended with fewer obstacles."

On the 18th of June, Sullivan broke camp at Easton, and, on the evening of the 23d, arrived at Wyoming. Here, instead of finding the supplies he had expected, a new disappointment awaited him. Of the salted meat, not a pound was fit to eat.* Of the cattle, many of them were

*It is but just to say that the reason rendered for this was that the meat was necessarily packed in casks made of green lumber, which soured the brine and spoiled the meat, notwithstanding the utmost precautions were used.

too poor to walk and some could not even stand. Everything pertaining to the Commissary's Department was in a deplorable condition, and the clothing department was in no better. On the 21st of July, Sullivan writes that more than a third of his soldiers have not a shirt to their backs.

As early as May 19, Colonel Pickering, then on General Washington's staff, wrote to Joseph Reed, President of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, stating the necessity of hastening forward the supplies for the army, and adds, "we expected ere this time that all the stores would have been at least on their way to Estherton, but for want of wagons three-fourths of them are in this city." The next day the Board ask that they may have immediately from eighty to one hundred wagons to convey supplies to the Susquehanna. On the 31st of May, General Washington himself writes to President Reed urging that the stores be sent forward with all expedition.

Instead of exerting themselves to forward the supplies so urgently demanded, and which had been faithfully promised beforehand, the authorities complained that the requisitions of Sullivan were exorbitant and threatened to prefer charges against him before Congress.

Sullivan says also that the Executive Council of Pennsylvania engaged to furnish seven hundred and twenty rangers and riflemen, and on the 21st of July, "not a man of them had joined the army, nor are any about to do it." The excuses rendered were that the Quartermaster paid such large wages for boatmen, that no one could be persuaded into the military service—and Sullivan was further told that he had men enough for his expedition, although it was the opinion of both himself and Washington, that his force was too small for the exigencies of the campaign.

The Commander at once set about with great vigor to

supply his army with the necessary stores and means for their transportation. Boats were secured, four hundred and fifty boatmen were enlisted, and soldiers were detailed, who, under the direction of Gen. Hand and other officers, were busily engaged for six weeks in collecting the supplies which he expected would be in Wyoming on his arrival there.

Sullivan was by no means the only officer who complained of delinquency and criminal neglect in the State Commissary Department. In a letter to President Reed, of July 22, William Maclay, the Lieutenant of Northumberland, says: "I wish not to complain of any one, nor would be understood so. I, however, know the wretched slothfulness of many who are engaged in the public department, and would rather do a piece of business myself than have the trouble of calling on them." Under date of July 14, Colonel Hubley writes to President Reed: "Our expedition is carrying on rather slow, owing to the delay of our provisions, &c. I sincerely pity General Sullivan's situation. People who are not acquainted with the reasons of the delay, I'm informed, censure him, which is absolutely cruel and unjust. No man can be more assiduous than he is. Unless some steps are taken to find out and make an example of the delinquent, [Quartermasters and Commissaries] I fear our expedition will be reduced to a much less compass than was intended." July 30th he writes again: "To-morrow we march, and I am sorry to say exceedingly ill provided to carry through the extensive expedition. The same unparalleled conduct of those employed in supplying this army, seems still to exist. I hope to see the day when the delinquents will be brought to proper punishment. My regiment I fear will be almost totally naked before we can possibly return. I have scarcely a coat or blanket for every seventh man. The state stores are all issued and delivered to the regiment." The testimony on all sides is, that

the Commissary Department was in the hands of men, who were either entirely incapable or grossly negligent. Of course great allowance should be made for the depressed condition of the country, the worthlessness of the currency, and the poverty of the people, but the real cause was mainly to be found in the coldness and real disfavor with which the State authorities regarded the expedition, and the entirely inadequate idea they had of its extent and necessities.

On the evening of the 13th of July, thirty-three of the German Regiment deserted, on the plea that their term of enlistment had expired. They were apprehended, brought back, tried by court martial, the leaders condemned to suffer death, and the others to severe punishment. On the petition of the criminals, with the promise to serve faithfully until properly discharged, and the recommendation of a board of officers, they were pardoned, and cheerfully took their places in the ranks.

The movements of Sullivan had not been unobserved by the enemy, who naturally concluded that the gathering of such a force and the collection of such extensive stores indicated some offensive movement, and that the invasion, which they had treated with so much ridicule, might be a more serious affair than they had anticipated.

Bold and desperate measures were undertaken to divert the attention of the General, divide his force, and, if possible, embarrass or delay his movements, by making vigorous attacks on the right and on the left of him.

For the protection of the scattered settlements on the West Branch of the Susquehanna, a fort had been erected fifteen miles above Northumberland, called Freeland's Fort. On the 28th of July one hundred British soldiers, under command of Captain Macdonald, and two hundred Indians, invested the fort. Captain Hawkins Boon, a few miles below, hearing the firing, started with thirty men for the relief of the garrison. Before reaching there,

the garrison, which consisted of thirty-two men, surrendered, and Captain Boon's party were surrounded by the enemy and fourteen of his men were slain. Great panic ensued, and express after express arrived at Wyoming beseeching Sullivan to send them aid. In reply he wrote to Colonel Cook: "Nothing could afford me more pleasure than to relieve the distressed, or to have it in my power to add to the safety of your settlement, but should I comply with the requisition made by you, it would effectually answer the intention of the enemy and destroy the grand object of this expedition. To-morrow the army moves from this place, and by carrying the war immediately into the Indian country, it will most certainly draw them out of yours."

The same week Brant with a party of warriors fell upon the Minisink settlements in Orange Co., N. Y., killing several of the inhabitants and making others prisoners. One hundred and fifty Orange County militia marching for their relief, were decoyed into an ambush and more than a hundred of them slain. An attack followed on the settlement of Lackawaxen, which was broken up with the loss of several lives and a number taken prisoners. Sullivan, however, was too good a General to divide his force in the presence of the enemy. He detached not a man from his main body, but hastened the preparations for his departure.

On the last day of July, everything being in readiness so far as circumstances would allow, about one o'clock in the afternoon, the army broke camp at Wyoming and began its forward march. Two Captains, six Subalterns, and one hundred men were left as the garrison for Wyoming under command of Colonel Zebulon Butler, who was charged with forwarding such supplies as might be collected. The Artillery consisted of eight brass pieces, viz: two six-pounders, four three-pounders, two howitzers, carrying five and a half-inch shells, and a light piece

for carrying either shot or shell, called a cohorn.* The artillery, ammunition, the salted provisions, flour, liquors, and heavy baggage were loaded on two hundred and fourteen boats,† manned by four hundred and fifty enlisted boatmen, Colonel Proctor's Regiment, and two hundred and fifty soldiers; all under the command of Colonel Proctor. To General Hand and his light troops was assigned the post of honor, the front of the column, which was directed to keep about a mile in advance of the main body. Advanced and flanking parties were kept out to guard against surprise from the enemy, and the brigade was so arranged as to be instantly effective in case of sudden attack. Then followed the pack horses about twelve hundred in number and seven hundred beef cattle, then Maxwell's Brigade advancing by its right in files, sections or platoons according to the nature of the country, then Poor's Brigade advancing by the left in the same manner. A regiment taken alternately from Maxwell's and Poor's Brigades was detailed as rear guard. Sixty men under Captain Gifford of the Third Jersey Regiment were directed to go up the west side of the river to prevent any surprise or interruption from that quarter; and four light boats, well manned, were ordered to keep abreast of them and bring them over to the main body, in case of an attack by a superior force.

The firing of a gun from the "Adventure," Colonel Proctor's flag boat, at 1 o'clock, P. M. was the signal for the fleet to weigh anchor. In a few moments the whole army was in motion, with flags flying, drums beating,

*A Cohorn is a small brass piece mounted on a wooden block with handles, so that it could be carried a short distance by hand. Colonel Proctor conceived the idea of putting legs under it, and placing it on board one of the light boats which was to precede the fleet, called it the "Grasshopper," because the reaction of the discharge threw it over backwards.

†A different number of boats has been given by other writers and by the journalists of the Campaign. I have followed Colonel Proctor's own account as published in the Pennsylvania Archives, New Series, IV., 557, Chaplain Rogers gives the number one hundred and twenty.

fifes screaming, and Colonel Proctor's regimental band playing a lively air. Passing the fort a salute of thirteen guns was fired which was answered by a like number from the fleet. When the whole line got in motion the distance from front to rear was about two miles, and sometimes farther, while the fleet was spread out at least an equal distance. Owing to unskillful loading or mismanagement, the fleet experienced great difficulty in making headway against the rapid current of the Susquehanna; and equal difficulty was experienced with the pack horses, the lading either being badly packed, or the slings improperly adjusted, packs were frequently falling off, or the horses liable to stumble and fall.

On the 9th of August, the army encamped at Sheshequin, on the 11th* forded the Susquehanna, a mile below the junction, crossed the Tioga or Chemung, and encamped at Tioga, the site of an Indian town, on the peninsula, between the rivers. In this day's march the army passed over the remains of Queen Esther's town,† which was

*The places and dates of encampment from Wyoming to Sheshequin are as follows:

July 31, Lackawanna, present Coxtou, Luzerne County, Pa.

August 1 and 2, Quialtinunuck, near Ransom Station, Luzerne County, Pa.

August 3, Tunkhannock, Wyoming County, Pa.

August 4, Van der Lippe's, Black Walnut, Wyoming County, Pa.

August 5, 6, 7, Wyalusing, Bradford County, Pa.

August 8, Wysox and Standing Stone, Bradford County, Pa.

August 9, Sheshequin, Bradford County, Pa.

†Queen Esther, whose palace and village was burned by Colonel Thomas Hartley in the Autumn of 1778, and who made herself notorious by her barbarous conduct at Wyoming, was the grand-daughter of Madame Montour, daughter of French Margaret, and sister of Catherine, whose town was at the head of Seneca Lake. She was the wife of Echobund, (or Eghobund,) who was the chief or king of the village of Sheshequin, on the site of present Ulster, Bradford County, Pa., built about 1765. It was for a number of years the seat of a Moravian mission, which in 1772 was removed farther west. After the place was abandoned by the Moravians and their converts, Echobund with the remnant of his class moved four or five miles farther up the river, where he probably died. Queen Esther figured prominently in the Susquehanna Valley, until the Sullivan expedition, after which her name is seldom mentioned. She died on the eastern shore of Cayuga Lake, about the beginning of the present century. Her only son was slain at Wyoming, the day before the battle.

situated on the west side of the Susquehanna, at its junction with the Tioga or Chemung.

On the first flat above the present village of Chemung, stood the Indian town Chemung in 1779. The old town, abandoned a number of years previous, was nearly three miles below, and near the present village. Sullivan determined, if possible, to surprise this town and destroy it, and thus prevent it from being used as a rendezvous for parties to commit depredations upon his camp. Accordingly the same evening of his arrival at Tioga, (August 11th,) Captain John N. Cummings of the Second New Jersey Regiment, Lieutenant Jenkins, the guide, Captain Franklin of the Wyoming militia and five others were sent to reconnoitre Chemung. Carefully they threaded their way through the tangled forests, avoiding the trail, yet keeping sufficiently near it not to lose their way, watchful of an ambush and listening for the footfall of a foe, they made their way to the crest of the high hill now owned by Miles C. Baldwin, Esq., where they could look down upon the town. There all was bustle and confusion. The Indians were evidently expecting an attack, and were hastening to a place of safety. The scouts returned the next day, about three o'clock P. M. On hearing their report the Commander-in-chief issued orders for the soldiers to be in readiness to march at a moment's notice, and at eight P. M., (August 12th,) with the greater part of the troops under Generals Poor and Hand, Sullivan set out from Tioga, leaving General Maxwell in command of the camp. The soldiers took one day's rations in their haversacks, and carried the little cohorn by hand, all the way to Chemung and back to camp.

Night marches are always attended with great fatigue and many inconveniences, but here these were greatly augmented. The path lay through deep woods and tangled thickets, down into dark valleys and over precipitous hills ; at one time the soldiers are floundering through a

swamp, at another feeling their way along a narrow path on the hillside where there is scarcely room for two to walk abreast, and where a single misstep would plunge headlong the unfortunate comrade upon the rocks hundreds of feet below—the day begins to dawn ere the tired troops reached the last Narrows. Covered by the fog, however, they pushed on their way, General Hand taking a little more circuitous route to strike the town in the rear, while General Poor advanced upon the front. But, lo! the bird had flown. Only two or three straggling Indians were discovered, and these ran away as soon as our men came in sight, which was a little before sunrise.

At his own request, General Hand was permitted to pursue the retreating enemy, with Hubley's Regiment and the Wyoming troops, the latter a little in front. He had advanced about a mile, when, as the company of Captain Bush, which was the right of the regiment, and the Wyoming companies pressing on rapidly and possibly with too little caution, had just reached the broken ground above Chemung, known as the "Hog-Backs," they were fired upon by the Indians in ambush, killing six men, viz: one sergeant, one drummer, and four privates, all of the Eleventh Pennsylvania, wounding Captain Franklin, Captain Carbury, Adjutant Huston and six rank and file. Our men returned the fire, pushed up the hill on a run, and the enemy beat a hasty retreat. It was afterwards known that the Indians had three killed and a number wounded. General Hand was recalled by orders from Sullivan.

Nearly one hundred acres of excellent corn, just in the milk, were near this town, the greater part of which General Poor was ordered to destroy. A party of the enemy on the other side of the river fired upon the troops just as they were entering a field, killing one and wounding five. About forty acres of corn were left for the future use of the army, the rest destroyed, the town burned, the troops returned to their encampment, reaching Tioga near

evening of the 13th, greatly wearied with the fatigue of the journey and the extreme heat of the weather. The casualties were seven killed and fourteen wounded. All were brought to Tioga, where the slain were buried with military honors in one grave, Chaplain Rogers officiating at the religious services.

We can hardly imagine a scene in military experience more tenderly solemn than this, when, after the fatigues of that long march and conflict, in the terrible heat of that August day, just at sunset, beneath the "shadows of Nature's leafy temples," more than an hundred miles distant from the home of a white man, these dust begrimed soldiers gather in silence and in sorrow, to consign their comrades, the first to fall by the enemy's bullets in the campaign, to the rest of their quiet graves. With what readiness they listen as their chaplain pronounces the brief discourse, and how reverently they bow their heads as he "went to prayer." We can well believe it was no exaggeration when he records in his journal "The regiment very solemn and attentive. The scene was exceedingly affecting." These were among the heroes who sleep in nameless graves. No living soul knows the exact place where their ashes lie, and probably no one knows the name of a single one of the slain.*

For the protection of the stores and boats to be left at Tioga during the absence of the army, a fortification was erected, which the soldiers, in honor of their commander, called Fort Sullivan. The site selected was near the centre of the present village of Athens, where the two rivers approach very near each other. Four strong block houses set in the angles of a parallelogram served as bastions for the work, the two opposite ones resting on the bank of each river, and the other two about midway

*Joseph Davis and Ezekiel Davis both of Amherst, of the Third Company of Cilley's Regiment, who were reported killed previous to August 13th, may have been two of them.

between, and at a distance of about one hundred yards from each other. The curtain was made by setting logs endwise into the ground, the whole being surrounded by a ditch, making a work of ample strength for the place.

The New York Government had determined, prior to the Sullivan expedition, to send a strong force against the Iroquois, by the way of the Mohawk, and General Clinton was making preparations accordingly. After this expedition was determined upon, it was thought best to punish the Onondagas for their repeated treachery and cruelty, General Schuyler, then in command at Albany, with the approval of Washington, therefore, directed General Clinton to send out a strong detachment and destroy their towns and break up their haunts. Accordingly on the 19th of April, 1779, Colonel Van Shaick, commanding the First New York Regiment, with a detachment of five hundred and fifty-eight men including officers, made a forced march to their towns, which were taken partly by surprise; twelve Indians were slain, thirty-three taken prisoners, their three villages entirely destroyed with a considerable quantity of corn, beans and other vegetables, most of their arms captured, a swivel at the council house disabled, their council fire extinguished, and the troops returned after an absence of six days, having made a journey of 180 miles, without the loss of a single man.

General Clinton,* with his brigade and stores, encamped at lake Otsego, the headwaters of the Susquehanna, the early part of July, where, awaiting orders from General Sullivan, he remained until the 9th of August. Lest

*Brigadier-General James Clinton, the brother of one Governor and the father of another, is a name intimately blended with the civil and military history of the State of New York. He was born in Orange County, N. Y., August 9, 1736. In the French and Indian war, 1756, he distinguished himself, serving under Bradstreet, with the rank of Captain. With the rank of Colonel he was with Montgomery in the invasion of Canada. In 1776 he was promoted to be Brigadier General, and held various important commands prior to the Expedition. After the war he held several civil positions, and died in Orange County, N. Y., greatly beloved and honored, December, 1812.

the river would be rendered unnavigable by the drought which frequently occurs in July and August, he had thrown a dam across the outlet of the lake by which its waters were raised about four feet above usual high water mark. On the 8th of August, the boats, two hundred and fifty in number, were taken into the Susquehanna, loaded with the stores and two small cannon, and manned with three men to each boat. On the next day, the dam was broken up, and on the flood thus created the fleet floated grandly over the shoals and bars which abound in the upper part of the stream, and the army took up its course, by easy marches, for Tioga. Not reaching there as soon as expected, and Clinton having expressed fears that his advance would be impeded by the enemy, on the 16th, Sullivan ordered a detachment of nine hundred men, properly officered, under command of General Poor, to go up the river, and render Clinton all needful aid in reaching Tioga. The brigade met the detachment on the morning of the 19th, near the present village of Union, when they proceeded together to Fort Sullivan, which they reached about noon on Sunday the 22d, and were welcomed with salvos of artillery, and the cheers of the men, while Colonel Proctor's band enlivened the scene by playing martial airs. Colonel Pawling with a regiment of levies was to have joined Clinton at Anaquaga, but failing to make connection, returned to Warwarsing.*

*The following are the dates and places of encampment of this division on the march from the foot of Otsego Lake to Tioga

August 9, Burrows Farms, sixteen miles from the Lake.

August 10, Yokeham's, five miles farther down the river, also called Van Valkenberg's.

August 11, Ogden's Farm, distance, fourteen miles.

August 12, Unadilla, distance, seventeen miles.

August 13, Conihunto, distance, fourteen miles.

August 14, 15 and 16, Onoquaga, distance eight miles, in the present town of Coleville, Broome County, N. Y. While here, on the 16th, General Clinton, sent the Fourth Pennsylvania Regiment, under command of Major Church, to meet Colonel Pawling who was expected to meet the detachment at this point with four hundred militia. After

On the arrival of Clinton, preparations for the onward movement of the army were prosecuted with great vigor. Some changes were made in the organization of the army. The Fourth Pennsylvania Regiment and the companies of riflemen were transferred to Hand's Brigade. Alden's Regiment was transferred from Clinton's to Poor's and Cortland's from Poor's to Clinton's Brigade. The riflemen, commanded by Major James Parr, were formed into an advance guard; and a pioneer corps was organized under Captains Selin and Ballard. The German Battalion was reorganized into four companies of twenty-five men each; two of these companies with two hundred picked men in addition, formed the right flanking division commanded by Colonel Dubois and Lieutenant-Colonel Regnier, the whole under the direction of General Poor. An equal number under the direction of General Maxwell and commanded by Colonel Ogden and Lieutenant-Colonel Willet formed the left flanking division. The flour and ammunition were packed in canvas sacks made of tents; commissary and hospital stores were placed in kegs, the two six-pounders were left with the garrison, and the rest of the artillery was taken with the army. In the order of march, General Hand's Brigade was in advance, General Poor on the right, General Maxwell on the left and General Clinton in the rear. The artillery preceded by the pioneers, and

marching five or six miles, the detachment returned without discovering Colonel Pawling.

August 17, Ingaren, twelve miles by land and twenty miles by water; near Great Bend, Susquehanna County, Pa.

August 18—"Two miles below the Chenango river," distance about sixteen miles, Major Parr with one hundred men, went four miles up Chenango to destroy the town there, but found it burned. Sergeants Gaylord and Chapman sent forward by General Poor, arrived this evening in Clinton's camp and informed him of the approach of Poor.

August 19, Owego, near the present village of the same name, distance, twenty-two miles. At the present town of Union, "Chuguutt," the division united with that of General Poor.

August 21, Mauckatawungum, opposite Fitzgerald's Farm, present Barton.

August 22, arrived at Tioga, at eleven o'clock A. M.

followed by the packhorses and beef cattle was in the center. All cumbrous and unnecessary baggage was ordered to be stored with the garrison at Tioga, which was to consist of two hundred and fifty men, besides the invalids, under the command of Colonel Israel Shreeve.

On the twenty-sixth of August, the army took up the line of its march to an unknown country, through leagues of unbroken forests, into the very heart of the enemy's territory, relying on their own valor alone for success, without hope of relief or of reinforcements, or, in case of defeat, of any quarter. It was an expedition in which not only peculiar hardships might be expected, but it was one without scarcely a parallel in the world's history for the boldness of its design, and the courage with which it was undertaken. To transport an army with its equipments and supplies, through an uncivilized country, without roads, for much of the way without water communication; to cut loose from their base of supplies and communications; to be shut up for weeks from the intelligence of the world, where to fall was to die, and ordinarily to die by torture, was an example of heroic bravery which the world has seldom witnessed. Sherman's march to the sea has received and justly merits the applause of men for its daring and its success; but this expedition was far more daring, and if the loss of life and the ends secured by it, be taken into the account, equally as successful in its execution, and deserves first rank among the great military movements in our country's history.

It was known that the enemy were assembled in force somewhere on the Chemung river, where it was thought they would dispute the passage of our army. A few boats, carrying supplies and baggage, were to accompany the army until it met the enemy and then return.

The army reached the site of Old Chemung on the evening of the 27th. Between this point and the town, three

miles above, the path led over a very high hill, which comes sharply down to the water's edge, and was found to be so serious an obstruction, that the artillery, baggage, ammunition wagons, packhorses and Maxwell's Brigade forded the river twice to avoid it. The current was swift and the water deep, and the crossing attended with considerable difficulty, and some of the loading was lost. The other troops passed over the mountain, and at night the army encamped near the site of the town destroyed on the 13th.

During the evening a scout came in with the information that the enemy were busily at work on a fortification a few miles above. The advanced guard could easily hear the sound of their axes, and see the light of their fires beyond the hills.

Early on Sunday, the 29th of August, the army moved with great circumspection. General Hand marched at eight o'clock, and before nine, all the troops were in motion. They had gone scarcely two miles before the advanced guard began to discover Indian scouts or spies, one hundred and fifty or two hundred yards in front, who, upon being observed, ran off at full speed. A small force was also seen on the opposite side of the river, which kept nearly abreast of General Hand's troops. About four miles from the encampment at Chemung, the fortifications of the enemy were discovered.

Consulting the map of the State of New York, it will be seen that nearly opposite the present village of Wellsburg, the Chemung (old Tioga) river runs first in a southerly direction, then sweeping around to the north-east, it forms nearly a semi-circle, of which the road leading to Elmira is the diameter. The road to Wellsburg divides this space into two nearly equal areas or quadrants. Coming down between the hills from the north is Baldwin's Creek, which, a little south of the main road, turns sharply to the east, and reaches the river some distance below.

Beginning near the river, and nearly opposite to what was formerly the lower point of Baldwin's Island, now, owing to a change in the main current of the stream, near the middle of it, begins a ridge of land, running in a south-easterly direction for about three thousand five hundred feet, and crossing the Wellsburg road, when it turns nearly at right angles, and extends in almost a direct northerly course about one thousand two hundred feet further, until it reaches the creek. The side of this ridge toward the streams was steeper and higher than it now is, it having been measurably levelled down by ninety years of cultivation. Between this ridge and the hill on the north on which the monument stands, now called Sullivan Hill, is a hollow, along which the Elmira road is laid, and which a mile to the west of the creek expands into a wider flat, where was an Indian town of twenty-five or thirty houses, called Newtown, which gave the name to the battlefield. At present only two or three old apple trees indicate its site.

A mile or more to the north of the main road, Baldwin's creek runs between two high ridges parallel with the stream, the slope of the western one, which is Sullivan Hill, coming sheer down to the water's edge. Where Jacob Lowman's sawmill now stands, in the woods, on both sides of the creek, were about twenty or thirty houses, which had never been inhabited, and were supposed to have been built for storing the crops growing in the vicinity. A few houses near the bend of the creek were torn down by the enemy, and the logs used in their fortification. One hundred and fifty to two hundred acres of magnificent corn just ripening for the sickle were on the flats near the river. The Indian path from Chemung, probably, was nearer the creek than the present road; after the creek was crossed, the path turned to the right, until it reached the Elmira road, when it took about the direction of the highway to Newtown. The slope of

Sullivan Hill was covered with pine and dense growth of shrub-oaks.

Along the crest of the ridge, or "Hogback," from the river to the creek, the enemy had erected a fortification in most places breast high or more, in others lower, but pits or holes were dug, in which the defenders could be protected. The work was very artfully masked by the slope of the ridge being thickly set with the shrub oaks cut the night before from the hillside. A little in front of the line of fortification were one or two log houses which served as bastions for the work.

The enemy had concentrated their main force at the angle in the fortified line. From this point a thin line was continued on one side to the river, and on the other to the creek. On the crest of the ridge just above the saw-mill before spoken of, a considerable force was stationed to repel any flank movement which might be attempted and was connected with the main force by a scattering line. On the very summit of the hill, where the monument stands, was placed a corps for observation, as also one on the opposite hill, on the east side of the creek.

The plan of the enemy seems to have been this:—Presuming their fortification to be perfectly concealed, and that the army would follow the Indian trail, as it turned to the right after crossing the creek, a sudden and severe fire opened on its exposed flank would create confusion in the ranks, and in the surprise of the unexpected attack, the party on the eastern hill, and that over the river having fallen back and crossed over, would fall on the rear of the army. increase the consternation, stampede the cattle and pack-horses, and, if they did not destroy it, would so cripple its resources as to prevent its further progress. For the purpose of the enemy the place was admirably adapted. In addition to occupying a position naturally strong, they had the inside line, and could concentrate their forces in much shorter space than their

opponents.

The force behind the ramparts consisted of a few regular British soldiers, the two Battalions of Royal Greens, Tories and Indians. The whites were commanded by Colonel John Butler, with his son, Captain Walter N. Butler, and Captain MacDonald, and the Indians by the great Mohawk warrior, Joseph Brant. Other celebrated Indian Chiefs, but of less note, were also present.

The advanced guard having discovered the enemy's position about eleven o'clock, A. M. General Hand ordered the riflemen to form at about three hundred yards from the enemy, and hold their position until the remaining part of the brigade should come up or until further orders. This was scarcely done, when about four hundred of the enemy made a sortie, delivered their fire, and quickly retreated to their works. This was a number of times repeated, with the manifest intention of drawing our men into their lines. The scheme which had too often been successful in alluring the militia into ambush, failed with the disciplined troops of this army, and, at length, the enemy sullenly retired behind his entrenchments to await the issue of the attack.

In the meanwhile, General Hand advanced his brigade in line of battle to support the riflemen, and informed Sullivan of his discovery and the disposition he had made of his brigade.

The commander at once summoned a council of his general officers, who, after thoroughly reconnoitering the ground, agreed upon the plan of attack.

It was three hours from the time the enemy was discovered, before the ground was reconnoitered, the plan of attack matured, and the troops came up. It was determined that the artillery should be stationed on a slight rise of ground about three hundred yards from the angle of the enemy's fortified position in such a way as to enfilade his lines and command the space behind them; Gen-

eral Hand to advance a portion of his light troops near the breast work, and divert the enemy's attention from the movements on the flank; and the rest to support the artillery; the left flanking division to push up the river as far as prudent, in order to gain the enemy's flank, cut off his retreat in that direction, and join in the pursuit when he left the works; General Poor with his brigade, the Riflemen, and the right flanking division, supported by Clinton's brigade, to march by a circuitous route, and gain the mountain (Sullivan Hill) on the enemy's left; Maxwell's Brigade to remain a *corps de reserve*, to act as occasion might demand.

It was about three o'clock, P. M., when at a point a little more than a mile to the eastward of where the path crossed Baldwin's Creek, "marching by columns from the right of regiments by files," followed by Clinton, who was ordered to march to the rear and the right of him, Poor struck off to the right from the path, his movement being concealed from the enemy by a considerable hill, which also hid a swamp that was directly in his path. He had not proceeded far before he found himself floundering in this morass, which was so thickly grown up with alders and bushes that his men could only with great difficulty make their way through them. An hour had been allowed as sufficient time for Poor's troops to be in position to turn the enemy's left, at which time the attack should be made in force on the front, the artillery fire being the signal for a simultaneous attack on both front and flank. The advance of Poor's Brigade, had, however, just reached the creek where the group of houses stood near the sawmill, when Sullivan, ignorant of Poor's delay, ordered the artillery to open fire, and the light infantry to advance. They pushed forward and formed in line under the bank of the creek, which afforded a secure protection within one hundred and twenty yards of the enemy's line. Proctor, whose battery, it will

be remembered, consisted now of six three-pounders, the light cohorn, and two howitzers, carrying $5\frac{1}{2}$ inch shells, opened with a sharp, severe fire of shell and solid shot. Such a scene this valley never before witnessed and to such music never before did these hills send back their answering echoes.

To endure a protracted cannonade is one of the severest tests of the discipline and fortitude of experienced troops, while to the Indian the roar of cannon is as terrifying as though it were the harbinger of the day of doom; yet such was the commanding presence of the great Indian Captain and such the degree of confidence he inspired, that his undisciplined warriors stood their ground like veterans for more than half an hour, as the shot went crashing through the tree-tops or plowing up the earth under their feet, and shells went screeching over their heads, or bursting in their ranks, while high above the roar of the artillery and the rattle of small arms, could be heard the voice of Brant, encouraging his men for the conflict, and over the heads of all, his crested plume could be seen waving where the contest was likely to be most sharp. At length, from the party on the mountain top, whose keen eyes had discovered the advance of Poor's Brigade by the gleaming of their arms in the sunlight, word came of the threatened attack on the flank. With a chosen band of his warriors, Brant hastened to repel this new danger, leaving a few of his Indians, with the troops under Butler, to hold the ground in front.

Emerging from the swamp, Poor bore off considerably to the left, Clinton following with his left exactly in the rear of Poor's right, and his right as he turned toward the creek, sweeping over the lower part of the hill on the east side of the creek, uncovered the party of the enemy stationed there and compelled their precipitate retreat.

On reaching Baldwin's creek, Poor drew up his brigade in line of battle—Lieutenant Colonel Reid's 2d New

Hampshire Regiment. on the left, Lieutenant Colonel Dearborn's 3d New Hampshire next, then Alden's, the 6th Massachusetts, and Colonel Cilley's, the 1st New Hampshire, on the right; and on the right flank of the brigade the two hundred and fifty picked men under Colonel Dubois, while the riflemen were deployed in front of the line as skirmishers.

By this time the advance of Clinton, who was to support Poor, began to arrive, and his brigade was placed in order of battle with Gansevoort's Regiment, the 3d New York, on the left, Dubois, the 5th New York, next, then Livingston's, which was the 4th New York, and Cortlandt's, the 2d New York, on the right.

Having formed the line of battle, Poor advanced his brigade with as much rapidity as the nature of the ground and the heat of the day would admit. No sooner had he crossed the creek than he was met by a sharp but somewhat random fire from the enemy stationed along the slope toward the creek, and protected by the trees which thickly studded the hill side. The riflemen returned the fire, but the brigade pressed rapidly forward, without firing a shot, and with fixed bayonets, steadily driving the enemy before them, who, as our men advanced, retreated, darting for cover from tree to tree with the agility of panthers.

When about two-thirds of the distance up the hill, the left part of the brigade was met by the party of the enemy from the breastwork, led by Brant in person. They, falling like a thunder bolt upon Colonel Reid's Regiment, which was the left wing of the brigade and nearest the foe, checked his advance, and before he had time to recover from the shock, his men being out of breath from their run up the hill, he found himself in the midst of an Indian force outnumbering his own, three to one, who were swarming in a semi-circle about his regiment, threatening to cut it off from the support of the rest of the brigade, and leav-

ing him the alternative either to fall back on Clinton for support or to force his way through at the point of the bayonet. General Poor being with the right wing of the brigade, urging forward his men that he might cut off the retreat of the Indians toward Newtown, was not aware of the serious danger which threatened Reid, but Colonel Dearborn, whose regiment was on Reid's right, immediately and on his own responsibility ordered his regiment to change or reverse front, by a right about face, and just as Reid had given orders to charge, Dearborn's Regiment poured in a volley upon Brant's force which first staggered them, and then a second volley, when they beat a hasty retreat.

About the same time Clinton perceiving the critical condition of Reid, pushed forward Gansevoort's and Dubois' regiments for his support, who reached him just in time to hasten the flight of the enemy. Brant observing the movement toward his rear and understanding its meaning, sounded the retreat, and the enemy fled from all parts of the field towards Newtown and the ford of the Chemung, pursued by Hand and the riflemen. The two Regiments on the right of Poor's Brigade and the flanking division of Dubois, reached the river above Newtown, at a point where the old Fountain Inn, now owned by Willard Harrington, stands; but this force was not sufficient successfully to resist the demoralized mass of the enemy, whose only means of escape led in this direction; and which being thus intercepted, they broke through Poor's line with such impetuosity, as for a time, to endanger his flank. Some shots were exchanged, without serious casualty to our troops, although Sullivan and others say the enemy did not so escape. At the same time Colonel John Butler himself came very near being taken prisoner.

Clinton with his two remaining regiments followed in the track of Poor, burning the houses which lay in his

path, and joined the other troops near Newtown. It was now about 6 o'clock in the afternoon, and seven hours since the first gun was fired, when three rousing cheers announced that the battle was ended and Sullivan's gallant army was in possession of the contested battle field.*

Our men fought with great valor and determination. The horrors of Wyoming, of Cherry Valley, of the West Branch, of Minisink and German Flats, were fresh in their recollections, and many of the soldiers had lost some of their nearest relatives in these strifes, where savage hordes and tory outlaws held high carnival. There is a tradition, that as Poor's men began the charge up the hill, some one said : "Remember Wyoming," which was taken up along the line as the watchword and battle-cry of the hour ; but there is not a lisp in confirmation of this, in any of the numerous journals which have been preserved to us.

The exact numbers engaged on either side cannot be ascertained. Sullivan and his officers, after going over the whole field, examining the line occupied by the enemy, and comparing the accounts and estimates of those in best position to know, put their strength at one thousand five hundred men, while the two men who were captured on the evening of the battle gave the number as low as seven hundred or eight hundred. Somewhere between these extremes is, doubtless, the truth.†

*The centennial anniversary of this battle was commemorated on the battle field August 29, 1879.

†There were 15 British regulars, both companies of the Royal Greens, and the Tory militia, all told from 200 to 250 white men. Besides these, there were all the Indian warriors of the Senecas, Cayugas, Mohawks and part of the Onondagas, Oneidas and Tuscaroras, and some of the northern tribes. Sullivan says "the warriors of the Seven Nations," at least 1 000 men, making the entire force of the enemy not far from 1 200.

At Catherine's Town, about 200 Indians from Canada joined Brant, and a couple of days after, at Kendaia, he reported that he had over 1,000 Indian warriors in his army. Deducting the losses at Newtown, and from desertion, which is always large after a disastrous battle, and his force at Kendaia could not have been much, if any, greater than at Newtown.

The numbers in General Sullivan's command are equally uncertain. At Wyoming,

The loss in Sullivan's army was three killed on the field, viz: Corporal Hunter and two privates; the wounded were Benjamin Titcomb, of Dover, Major in the 2d New Hampshire, through the abdomen and arms; Elijah Clays, Captain of the 7th Company of the 2d New Hampshire through the body; Nathaniel McCauley, of Litchfield, 1st Lieutenant of the 4th Company of the 1st New Hampshire; Sergeant Lane, wounded in two places, Sergeant Oliver Thurston, and thirty-one rank and file, all but four of whom were of Poor's brigade and nearly all from Reid's regiment. Lieutenant McCauley had his knee shattered, making amputation necessary, and died before morning, and Abner Dearborn died a few days after he was removed to Tioga. Sergeant Demeret, Joshua Mitchell and Sylvester Wilkins died previous to September 19th, making a total of eight.

Those who died upon the field were buried separately, near where they fell, and fires were built upon their graves to conceal them from the enemy, lest after the departure of the army their bodies should be desecrated; a practice shamefully prevalent on both sides in Indian warfare. It seems strange that in a contest waged between such numbers and for so long a time, the casualties should have

his force was said to be 3,500 men, and the number which came with Clinton to have been about 1,500 or 1,600 more, making a total of 5,000 in the grand army. But this is evidently much too large. To begin with, Pennsylvania failed to furnish the 750 men required to fill up her quota, leaving not more than 2,750 men in actual service; and this must be somewhat diminished. July 22, nine days before the army marched from Wyoming, but after the arrival of all his troops, the returns comprise 3 Brigadiers, 7 Colonels, 6 Lieutenant-Colonels, 8 Majors, 48 Captains, 3 Chancellors, 10 Surgeons, 11 Drum and Fife Majors, 131 Drummers and Fifers, 2,312 rank and file, or a total of 2,539 men of all grades and ranks.—Clinton's Brigade consisted of five regiments and six companies of riflemen. The 4th Pennsylvania Regiment, which was one of the number, by a return dated June 18, 1779, numbered of all grades 248 men. Taking this as the standard and the five regiments would have about 1,250. Of the riflemen, Major James Parr's company contained when enlisted in 1776, 48 men, in 1779, could not have mustered more than half that number, or the six companies in the Brigade about 150 men. These figures cannot be far from correct, and make the sum total of the army a trifle less than 4,000 men of all ranks. From these deduct 5 per cent. for sick and absent, the 100 left at Wyoming, 300 left at Fort Sullivan, 250 pack-horse drivers, and Sullivan's effective force could not have exceeded 3,100 or 3,200 men.

been so few. But our men were well protected by the bank of the creek on the front, and the Indians probably shot over the heads of those coming up the hill.

Twelve of the enemy were found slain on the ground, and two prisoners were taken,—one a negro, the other “one Hoghtailer from the Helder Barrack.” A British account says: “In this action Colonel Butler and all his people were surrounded, and very near being taken prisoners. The Colonel lost four rangers killed, two taken prisoners and seven wounded. The Indian account found four days afterward, near Catherine’s town is as follows:—“September 3d.—This day found a tree marked 1779, Thandagana, the English of which is Brant; twelve men marked on it with arrows pierced through them, signifying the number they had lost in the action of the 29th ultimo. A small tree was twisted round like a rope and bent down which signified that if we drove and distressed them, yet we would not conquer them.”

Disheartened, terror-stricken, and hopeless of further resistance, the enemy fled with all possible speed, not daring even to look behind them; and such was the moral effect of the victory, that without thought for else but their lives, they abandoned their villages to the torch and their cornfields to the destruction of the victorious foe.*

The day after the battle was spent in destroying the crops in the neighborhood, sending the wounded, four heavy guns, ammunition wagons, etc., back to Tioga; and while here, owing to the prospective scarcity of beef and flour, and the abundance of corn, beans, potatoes, squashes, etc., the army agreed without a dissent to subsist on half rations of the former articles.

On the 31st of August the army again started westward, to complete the work for which the expedition had been

*“After the battle of Newtown terror led the van of the invader, whose approach was heralded by watchmen stationed upon every height, and desolation followed weeping in his train. The Indians everywhere fled as Sullivan advanced, and the whole country was swept as with the besom of destruction.”—*Stone’s Life of Brant*.

organized.

About two miles above Newtown a little village of eight good houses was found, which was burned, and the army passed on to Kanawaholla, a pleasant town situated on the point, at the junction of present Newtown Creek with the Chemung, near the city of Elmira, and four and a half miles above the battle ground. Here, as at Chemung and Newtown, the corn-fields bore marks of having been planted under the supervision of white people, whom it is well known were directed by the British government to aid the Indians in raising supplies for the British army and garrisons.

From this point, Colonel Dayton, with the Third New Jersey Regiment and a detachment of the Riflemen, was sent up the river in pursuit of some of the enemy whom the advanced guard saw escaping in their canoes. He chased them for eight miles up the river, but their speed was too great, and the nimble-footed savages escaped. At this point Colonel Dayton found an Indian village which was near present Big Flats, where he encamped for the night. The next morning he burned the village, destroyed about thirty acres of corn and a quantity of hay, and rejoined the main army just as it was leaving its encampment.

From Kanawaholla the path turned northward; the army marched about five miles farther and encamped for the night, near the present village of Horseheads. The next morning tents were struck at eight o'clock, and for three miles the path lay through an open plain, then they entered the low ground which forms the divide of the waters flowing into the Susquehanna and into the St. Lawrence, at that time a deep, miry swamp, covered with water from the recent rains, dark with the closely shadowing hemlocks, the path studded with rocks and thickly interspersed with sloughs; it was the most horrible spot they had met with. It was past seven o'clock, just in

the dusk of the evening, when the advanced guard emerged from the gloomy shadows of the morass and formed themselves in line just on the outskirts of the village Sheaquaga, or French Catherine's Town.*

It was pitch-dark before Hand's brigade got out of the wilderness. To the rest of the army it was a night of horrors. It was so dark the men could not see the path, and could keep it only by grasping the frocks of their file leaders. Poor's and Maxwell's Brigades did not reach the town until ten o'clock. Many of the soldiers, utterly worn out with heat and fatigue, fell exhausted by the wayside, and did not join the army until the next day. Clinton's Brigade spent the night in the swamp, without supper or shelter. Two of the pack-horses fell and broke their necks, others became exhausted and died in the path, while the stores of food and ammunition were sadly depleted. The town was built on both sides of the inlet to Seneca Lake, and about three miles from the lake, on the site of present Havana. It consisted of between thirty and forty good houses, some fine corn-fields and orchards. The soldiers found a number of horses, cows, calves and hogs, which they appropriated.

All of Thursday was spent in resting, bringing up the wearied horses and exhausted soldiers, burning the houses, destroying the trees and corn, and scouring the country for straggling Indians. A very old squaw was found hidden in the bushes. She was accosted by one of the Indian guides in various dialects, but she shook her head as if she could not understand. At length the

*As before said, Catharine was sister of Queen Esther, and grand-daughter of Madame Montour, whose romantic history covered the first half of the 18th century. In 1749 she was very aged and blind, and probably died prior to 1752. The husband of Catherine and the reputed father of her children was Edward Pollard, an Indian trader, and a sutler at Niagara, who was also the father of the famous Seneca warrior, Captain Pollard. Catherine had two sons, Rowland and John, and one daughter, Belle. The sons were actively engaged during the Revolution, were both at Wyoming in 1778, and at Newtown in 1779, where John was wounded in the back. Rowland's wife was the daughter of the chief Sachem of the Senecas. After the campaign of 1779, they were all settled near Niagara.

General becoming convinced that her ignorance was only assumed, threatened her with punishment if she did not answer. She replied that Butler and the Indians held a council here, and many of the old chiefs and women desired peace, but Butler told them Sullivan's army would kill them all if they surrendered, and they had better run off into the woods; that Brant received a reinforcement of two hundred Indian warriors, who were eager to fight, but those who had been in the Battle of Newtown shook their heads and would not agree to it. She further said that the Indians lost very heavily in killed and wounded, and she heard many women lamenting the death of their relatives.

On Friday, September 3d, having built a comfortable hut for the old squaw, and left her a supply of provisions, the army resumed its march and encamped twelve miles from Sheaquaga, the route most of the way being through open woods, over level country, and the journey devoid of special incident. The place of the encampment was on the lake-side where there were a few houses and plenty of corn, and near what has since been called Peach Orchard, where it is said the early settlers found conclusive evidences of Indian occupation. An Indian scout left one of these cornfields just as our men came up. They found corn roasting by the fire and the supper left untasted.

About ten o'clock the next morning, the army moved from its encampment, and after proceeding four miles, came to what is known as North Hector. The Indian town was called Con-daw-haw, and consisted of one long house, built according to Indian custom to contain several fires, (but in utter defiance of the white man's proverb about no roof being large enough for two families,) and several smaller houses. Destroying these and the cornfields, the army went eight miles further and encamped.

On Sunday, the 5th of September, the army marched three miles and encamped at an Indian town called Ken-

daia, or Appletown, pleasantly situated, a half a mile from the lake, consisting of twenty or more houses of hewn logs, covered with bark, and some of them were well painted. Here was one apple orchard of sixty trees, besides others; also peach trees and other fruits. The houses were burned for firewood, and the trees were cut down or girdled. About this town, the showy tombs erected over some of their chiefs, were most noticeable, one of which, larger and more conspicuous than the others, is described by one of the journals as a case-ment or box made of hewn planks, about four feet high and somewhat larger than the body over which it was placed, and which was appropriately dressed. This case-ment was painted with bright colors, and had openings through which the body could be seen, and was covered with a roof to protect it from the weather. Although this was evidently an old town, yet there was such a scarcity of pasturage, that during the night twenty-seven of the cattle strayed off and were not found until afternoon. While here, Luke Swetland, who had been taken from Wyoming the year before, came to the army — Mr. Jenkins says, almost overjoyed to see his old friends again.

On the 6th, the army encamped three miles north of Kendaia, on the shore of the lake, and opposite a considerable Indian town on the other side. This camping place has been identified by General Clark, of Auburn, N. Y., as near the ravine called on the old maps "Indian Hollow."

Early in the morning of the 7th, the army again struck tents, and after marching about eight miles, came to the outlet of Seneca Lake. They were then in the country properly of the Senecas. Passing a small town called Butler's buildings, at the foot of the lake, near the present canal bridge, five miles further around the lower end of the lake brought them to the first important Sen-

Seneca town, of about fifty houses surrounded by orchards and cornfields, and called Kanadasaga, occupying nearly the site of present Geneva. Here the army rested during Wednesday, the 8th, while several detachments were sent out in various ways to explore the country, discover and destroy the neighboring villages and cornfields. Sullivan was now in a strange country. He had not a single guide who knew the exact locality of a town beyond him, hence he was compelled to rely upon his own scouts for information.

Among the companies which were thus sent out, was a party of volunteers under Colonel John Harper,* who, following down the Seneca river about eight miles, came to a pleasantly situated town consisting of eighteen houses on the north side of the river, called Skoi-yase, and occupying the site of the handsome and thriving village of Waterloo. Near this town were some fish ponds, the remains of which were found by the early settlers without knowing their use—a peculiar enterprise for an Indian village, and one which I do not remember to have seen elsewhere. Here, too, were fields of corn whose golden ears were waiting the sickle of the harvester; and orchards whose trees were bending under their load of ripening fruit. The scout finding the village abandoned by the Indians, burned the houses, and hastened to return to Kanadasaga.

*John Harper was born in Boston, Mass., May 31, 1734. In 1768 the Colonial Government of New York made a grant to him and twenty-one others, his associates, of 22,000 acres of land on the Delaware River, purchased the year before of the Indians, and which was called Harpersfield, in honor of its founder. During the Revolution Colonel Harper distinguished himself in the border wars in Montgomery, Schoharie, Delaware, Broome, and Otsego Counties, as a brave soldier; an ardent patriot, and one thoroughly acquainted with Indian warfare. He is frequently mentioned in Campbell's Annals of Tryon County, and in Stone's Life of Brant. At one time he was in command of a regiment raised for the defense of the frontiers, with the rank of Colonel. He was connected with the Sullivan Expedition, probably as a volunteer, without a distinct command, and was detailed for the expedition to Skoi-yase on account of his knowledge of the country as well as of Indian warfare. After the close of the war he returned to Harpersfield, where he continued to reside until his death, November 20, 1811. Some of his descendants are still living in Harpersfield.

Skoi-yase, though not the capitol of the Cayugas, was one of their important towns, and the probable residence of one or more of their sachems. Situated upon the western frontier of their particular territory, and on the great trail which extended east and west through the whole length of the Confederacy, and far beyond, it was guarded with especial care and watchfulness by the nation. Its destruction was only the forerunner of that entire destruction of their nation which they had every reason to expect was soon to follow. It may be added that Norris and one or two others call the place "Large Falls," and Fellows says "Long Falls."

Having totally destroyed Kanadasaga, and sent back to Tioga under an escort of fifty men, the sick and the lame, on the 9th the army resumed its westward march through the country of the Senecas toward the Genesee river.

Kanadasaga was a large and important town, consisting of fifty houses with thirty more in the immediate vicinity; and being the capitol of the nation was frequently called the "Seneca Castle." Its site was on the present Castle road, a mile and a half west from Geneva. The town was divided by Kanadasaga or Castle Creek. It was regularly laid out, enclosing a large green plot, on which, during the "old French War" in 1756, Sir William Johnson had erected a stockade fort, the remains of which were plainly visible to our army, and spoken of in a number of the journals. Orchards of apple, peach and mulberry trees surrounded the town. Fine gardens with onions, peas, beans, squashes, potatoes, turnips, cabbages, cucumbers, water melons, carrots and parsnips, abounded; and large cornfields were to the north and northeast of the town. All were destroyed on the 8th of September. Here was found a little white boy, about three years of age, who had been stolen by the Indians from the frontiers. The little fellow was nearly starved when our men found him. No clue to his parentage was ever obtained. The

officers of the expedition were greatly interested in the little waif and tenderly cared for him, but he died a few months after the return of the expedition.

Here was the residence of Siangorochti, commonly called Grahta, or Old Smoke, from the fact that he carried the brand by which the council fires were lighted, an honor held by no other. At the time of Sullivan's expedition, the old king incapacitated by age from taking part in the war, fled in advance of the army to the British fort at Niagara, while the young king, being only twelve years of age, was too young to engage in military affairs. A daughter of the old king married Roland, a son of Catherine Montour. On the 9th of September, after a march of eight miles, the army encamped in the woods, near a stream of water now called Flint Creek.

Starting the next morning at 8 o'clock, after marching eleven miles, the army came to Kanandaigua Lake; and fording its outlet marched a mile farther, when they found the town of Kanandaigua, consisting of twenty-three elegant houses, some of them framed, others log, but large and new, pleasantly situated about a mile from the west shore of the lake, partly on the site of the present Canandaigua. At this place, the rear guard of the enemy remained so long, that their fires were found burning. The torch was soon applied to the buildings, and the army advanced a mile farther where the cornfields were, and encamped, when fatigue parties were detailed for the destruction of the crops, which was pretty thoroughly accomplished before dark.

Before daylight on the morning of Saturday, September 11th, the troops were again in motion. A march of fourteen miles brought them to the Indian town of Hanne-ya-ye, which contained about twenty houses, and was near the site of present Honeoye, at the foot of Honeoye Lake, on the east side of its outlet.

Sunday morning, September 12th, was rainy, with thun-

der and lightning, so that it was noon before the army broke camp, after which it marched eleven miles and encamped in the woods, nearly two miles from Kanaghsaws, which place Sullivan would have reached that day but for the rain. He arrived there early the next morning. This town which is also called Adjuton, and several other names, in the journals, consisted of eighteen houses on the east of the inlet to Conesus Lake, a short distance southeast of the head of the lake, and about one mile northwest of Conesus Center, on the north and south road that passes through the McMillan farm. Between the town and the lake, on what were afterwards known as Henderson's Flats, were the corn fields. The main army encamped nearly two miles north, on the flats southwest of Foot's Corners. George Grant says, that a fine stream of water ran through the town, and that an enterprising negro, called Captain Sunfish, who had acquired considerable wealth and influence, resided here. It was also the home of the well-known Seneca chieftain, Big Tree, of whom Mr. Doty says, that he was a useful friend of the American cause in the Revolution, and a leading adviser in all treaties and councils of the Senecas. In the summer of 1778, he was sent by Washington to the towns along the Genesee, in the hope that his personal influence and eloquence might win the Senecas to the cause of the States. He found his countrymen disposed to listen until they learned from a spy that the Americans were about to invade their country, when all flew to arms. Big Tree put himself at their head, as he said, "to chastise an enemy that would dare to encroach upon his people's territory." This last sentence cannot be accepted as correct. Colonel Dearborn says that Big Tree "made great pretensions of friendship toward us; has been in Philadelphia and at General Washington's headquarters since the war commenced. He received a number of presents from General Washington and Congress, yet we presume he is again with Butler." The facts seem to be

these: Though a real friend to the Americans, yet on coming to his own country he found the feeling of enmity so strong and so universal among the Senecas, that he was overborne by it and obliged to submit.

All day the Indian scouts had been so near our army that their tracks were fresh on the path, and the water was roiled through which they passed.

Immediately after the battle of Newtown, the forces of Butler and Brant had retired to Canawaugus, near the site of present Avon, in Livingston County, but having received considerable reinforcements, they determined to make another attempt to arrest the further progress of the army.

At the head of Conesus lake was a soft, miry bottom, along the south side of which ran the Indian path to the Genesee towns, nearly on the site of the present highway, crossing the sluggish inlet by a bridge, which Butler had destroyed on his retreat, probably a few feet south of the present one. On the west of the lake and running parallel with it, is a steep bluff of considerable height, which reaches nearly to the water's edge, at that time covered with trees, and then as now deeply gashed by several ravines which come straight down its face. The path led up to the crest of the hill between two of these ravines, but with a southerly trend, then turned almost directly north, until the site of the present burying ground was reached, thus avoiding the broken surface of the bluff. This was the place selected by the enemy to surprise the army, and, if possible, to destroy it.*

Learning from his scouts that Sullivan was approaching this difficult place, early on the morning of the 12th, Butler left Canawaugus, and in the afternoon had his forces posted on the crest of the ridge and in the ravines,

*General J. S. Clark has called my attention to the fact that there is a striking topographical resemblance between this place and Braddock's Field. The memory of that victory may have afforded inspiration to the courage and patience of the enemy.

overlooking the south end of the lake, and flanking the path to the Genesee towns. Here, though perfectly concealed, he was in full view of Sullivan's army and within musket shot of the inlet crossing.

As late as 1770, the principal Genesee town, called Chenussio, was located near the confluence of the Canaseraga Creek with the Genesee River, and here it was marked on the most recent maps to which Sullivan had access. He was not aware of the fact that its location had been changed to the west side of the river, and seems to have known nothing of another town two miles farther up the Canaserega.

When, therefore, General Sullivan reached his encampment on the evening of the 12th, he supposed that he was near the great Genesee Castle of which he had heard so much, and which was the objective point of his expedition. In order to secure more accurate information, he ordered Lieutenant Thomas Boyd of the Riflemen, to take five or six men with him, make a rapid reconnoissance, and report at headquarters as early as sunrise the next morning. He took however twelve riflemen, six musketmen of the Fourth Pennsylvania Regiment, and six volunteers, making, with himself and Hanyerry, an Oneida Indian guide, and Captain Jehoiakim, a Stockbridge Indian, twenty-seven men in all. The party left camp north of Kanaghsaws at eleven o'clock in the evening and set out on the trail leading to the Great Town. Owing to his misinformation, Sullivan's directions had been confusing and misleading. It was found that the principally traveled trail took a direction different from what was expected. Boyd did not lose his way, but instead of taking the unused path that led to the abandoned Chenussio, he took the one which brought him to an important town two miles farther up the Canaseraga, the only one between the army and the Genesee. In the darkness he had passed Butier's right flank without

either party having discovered the other. Boyd reached the town which the enemy had abandoned, early in the morning, without having encountered any difficulty. Halting his force at the outskirts of the village, with one of his men he carefully reconnoitered the place, then re-joining the rest of the party they concealed themselves in the woods near the town. He sent back two of his men to report the discoveries he had made, and awaited the light of the day, whose morning was just breaking. Soon four Indians on horseback were seen entering the town, and Boyd sent a party to take or kill them. One Indian was killed and another wounded. The wounded man and the two others escaped. Boyd then set out for camp. Having gone four or five miles, and thinking the army must be on its march toward him, he sat down to rest. After a short halt he dispatched two of his men to inform the General where he was, and of his intention to await the coming of the army. In a short time these men returned with the information that they had discovered five Indians on the path. Boyd again resumed his march and had gone but a short distance, when he discovered the same party and fired on them. They ran, and Boyd, against the advice of Hanyerry, pursued them. The chase was kept up for some distance, the Indians succeeding in alluring the scouting party near the enemy's lines. They then allowed the party to approach sufficiently near to draw their fire, but kept out of danger. Butler, hearing the firing on his right, as his force was arranged facing Conesus, and fearing that he had been discovered, and that an attempt was being made to surprise his camp, hastened to the spot, where he found Boyd's party still following the Indians. Without being aware of their presence, Boyd was already within the fatal embrace of the enemy, and before he was aware of it, Butler had given such orders as to completely surround him. Once and again he attempted to break their line but without success; he then sought to retreat,

but he was encompassed on all sides. The odds were fearful, eight hundred of the Indians and Tories to twenty-seven Americans, but the scouts determined to sell their lives as dearly as possible; and relief from our army, which was only about a mile distant, was expected every moment. Covered by a clump of trees our men poured a murderous fire upon the enemy as they were closing around them, numbers of whom were seen to fall.* In all, fifteen of Boyd's party, including Hanyerry, were slain, eight escaped, Boyd and his sergeant Parker were captured, and two had been sent early in the morning to report to General Sullivan. The bodies of the slain were found on the 16th and buried with military honors; that of Hanyerry with the others, although literally hacked to pieces. The story of his capture, the theatrical address of his brother, and his tragic end, as told by Stone and repeated by others, lacks both confirmation and probability. Of those who escaped, one was the noted Timothy Murphy, an account of whose hair-breadth escapes and deeds of reckless daring would fill a volume. Others were Elerson, McDonald, Garrett Putnam, a French Canadian and Captain Jehoiakim. Boyd and Parker were hastened to Little Beard's town, where they were put to death with cruel tortures.

It has been currently reported, that after his capture, Boyd approached Brant under the sign of a Free Mason, of which ancient fraternity both were members, that the chieftain recognized the bond of brotherhood and promised him protection, but he having been unexpectedly called away, the captives were placed in charge of Butler (probably Walter N.) who, becoming exasperated with Boyd's

*The place where Boyd's men were buried was near where they fell. It is at the head of the first ravine south of the road which passes by the cemetery on the hill west of the head of Conesus Lake. The point is within a half mile of the cemetery and about ten rods directly south of Mrs. Boyd's barn. A view of the spot is given in the History of Livingston County. Nearly forty years ago the grave was opened and some of the bones were taken to Mt. Hope Cemetery, Rochester, N. Y.

persistent refusal to disclose any information in regard to the army, handed them over to the Indians to be put to death. The whole story, however, is extremely doubtful, and it is now difficult to ascertain how much of it, if any, should be received as true. The most that can be said with certainty is, that the next day the bodies of the unfortunate men were found by our troops, horribly mangled, and bearing marks of having suffered unspeakable torture.*

Sullivan had established a line of sentries along the base of the hill next the morass, to guard the pioneers against surprise while repairing the bridge. Captain Benjamin Lodge, who was the surveyor for the expedition, and with chain and compass had measured the entire route from Easton, about half an hour after the skirmish with Boyd on the hill, had gone a short distance beyond the picket line, when he was set upon by a party of Indians, who were pursuing the fugitives of the scouting party. Thomas Grant, who was one of the surveying party, thus tells the story: "Myself and four chain carriers, who were about one and a half miles advanced of the troops, were fired on by several Indians, who lay in ambush; a corporal by the name of Calhawn, who came voluntarily with me, was mortally wounded and died the next day. The Indians pursued us a fourth of a mile, but without success,—we being unarmed were obliged to run." Captain Lodge was compelled to leave his compass and ran towards the nearest sentinel, who shot the Indian chasing him with uplifted tomahawk, and Captain Lodge escaped. General Sullivan ordered Hand's brigade to cross the morass, push up the hill and dislodge the enemy. Butler on returning to his forces

*On the 27th of March, 1780, a party of Indians captured Thomas Bennett and others in the Wyoming Valley. The leader had a very fine sword, which he said belonged to Boyd, and added, "Boyd brave man." The prisoners rose upon their captors, killed several of them, recaptured the sword, and returned in safety to Wyoming.

on the crest of the hill found them in confusion, and, seeing the preparations made to attack them, beat a hasty retreat, leaving their hats, packs, etc., behind them. Butler being thus thwarted in his plans to surprise the army, withdrew his forces to Gathsegwarohare, and then to Canawaugus.

Having destroyed Kanaghsaws and completed the bridge across the creek, Sullivan pushed forward on the trail taken by Boyd the night before, a distance of seven miles to Gathsegwarohare.

This was an Indian town of twenty-five houses, mostly new, on the east side of the Canaseraga Creek, about two miles above its confluence with the Genesee. The site is now occupied by the house and surrounding grounds of the "Hermitage," the ancestral home of the Carrolls.

As the advance of the army approached the town about dusk of September 13th, they found themselves confronted by a strong force of Indians and rangers, drawn up in battle array to dispute their further progress. The General at once pushed forward the flanking divisions to cut off their retreat, but the enemy, seeing the troops come into position, fled without firing a gun, and the army encamped in the town without opposition. There were extensive cornfields adjacent to the town, which it took two thousand men, six hours, the next day, to destroy. This being accomplished, about noon of the 14th they set out for the great Genesee town, reaching it about sunset.

The location of this great Seneca Castle, was on the west side of the Genesee river, on the flat immediately in front of Cuylersville, in the town of Leicester, on the opposite side of the valley from Geneseo. It appears on Ivan's map as Chenandoanes; in 1776 it was called Ch nondanah; by Morgan it is called De-o-nun-da-ga-a, as a more modern Seneca name, signifying "where the hill is near," but is more often called Little Beard's town, from the name of the noted Seneca chieftain who resided there

in 1779.

The castle consisted of one hundred and twenty-eight houses, of which the most were large and elegant, and was surrounded by about two hundred acres of cornfields and gardens, filled with all kinds of vegetables. It was the western door of the Long House to which the Iroquois were accustomed to liken their confederacy. Near this town were found the bodies of Lieutenant Thomas Boyd and Sergeant Parker, horribly mutilated by the tortures to which they had been subjected. They were buried that evening with the honors of war, near the spot where they were found.

At 6 o'clock in the morning of the 15th of September, the whole army was turned out to destroy the crops, orchards, houses and gardens of the place. The corn was piled up in the houses and burned with them, or consumed on log heaps. It was estimated that from fifteen thousand to twenty thousand bushels were destroyed at this place. It was the largest corn the troops had ever seen, some of the ears being twenty-two inches in length. It was about two o'clock, P.M., when, the fields having been overrun, the abundant harvest destroyed, the trees hewn down, and naught of the great town remaining but smoking ruins and blackened logs, there came the joyful order to about face and return.* While the army remained at this town, Mrs. Lester, with a child in her arms, came to our troops. The autumn previous (November 7th) her husband with others was captured near Nanticoke, Pennsylvania, by the Indians; he was slain, but his wife was carried into captivity. In their haste to escape our army, her captors left her behind, and she escaped to our lines. Her child died a few days after. She subsequently became the wife of Captain Roswell Franklin,

*The Groveland ambuscade and the destruction of the Genesee towns were fittingly commemorated at Genesee, Livingston County, September 18th, 1879, their centennial anniversary.

who was in the first party that settled Aurora, on Cayuga lake.

Having over-run and destroyed, as it was supposed, all the villages of the Senecas, about three o'clock, P. M., the army set out on its return by the same route it had advanced, and, on the evening of the 19th, reached Kanasaga without any occurrence worthy of note, except that scattered dwellings and fields of corn which had been overlooked, or purposely spared, were completely destroyed, and a number of the pack-horses, being unable to travel further, were shot. Here Sullivan was met by a delegation from the Oneidas, who came to excuse themselves for not joining the expedition, and also to intercede on behalf of the Cayugas, east of the lake, who claimed to be friendly to Congress. They were also closely united to the Oneidas by intermarriages; who thought that if the towns were destroyed and the means of subsistence laid waste, their families would come to them for support, which, added to their already heavy burdens, would be more than they could endure. In reply, General Sullivan informed them that the whole course of the Cayugas had been marked by duplicity, and hostility, for which he had determined they should be chastised, and he should not be turned from his purpose.

On Monday morning, the 20th of September, General Sullivan detached Colonel Gansevoort with 100 men selected from the New York Regiments, with instructions to go to Albany, via Fort Schuyler, and bring forward the heavy baggage which had been stored at those places, previous to the setting out of the expedition. A few families of the Mohawks who professed to be friendly to the United States, occupied what was known as the Lower Mohawk Castle. By some means Sullivan had been informed that these Indians were acting as spies for the hostile part of the nations, and directed Colonel Gansevoort to capture the inhabitants and destroy their town.

On the representations of their neighbors of the friendly disposition of these Indians, he set a guard over their town, but took the men to Albany; where, upon the statement of Schuyler,* Washington ordered their immediate release with directions "To lay them under such obligations for their future good behavior as they should think necessary."

In Colonel Gansevoort's letter to General Sullivan, he describes the movements of his detachment:

ALBANY, October 8th, 1779.

DEAR SIR:—

Agreeable to my orders, I proceeded by the shortest route to the lower Mchawk Castle, passing through the Tuscarora and Oneida Castles, where every mark of humanity and friendship was shown the party. I had the pleasure to find that not the least damage nor insult was offered any of the inhabitants. On the 25th ultimo, I arrived at Fort Schuyler, where, refreshing the party, I proceeded down the river, and on the 29th effectually surprised the lower Mohawk Castle, making prisoners of every Indian inhabitant.

They then occuppied but four houses. I was preparing—agreeable to my orders, to destroy them, but was interrupted by the intercessions and entreaties of several

*The following is General Schuyler's letter to Colonel Gansevoort, dated Albany, October 7, 1779:

DEAR SIR:—

Having perused General Sullivan's orders to you, respecting the Indians of the lower Mohawk Castle and their property, I conceive they are founded on misinformation given to that gentleman. Those Indians have peaceably remained there under the sanction of the public faith, repeatedly given them by the Commissioners of Indian affairs on condition of peaceable demeanor; this contract they have not violated, to our knowledge. It is, therefore, incumbent upon us, as servants of the public, to keep the public faith inviolate, and we therefore entreat you to postpone the sending the Indians from hence until the pleasure of his Excellency, General Washington, can be obtained; and a letter is already dispatched to him on the occasion, and in which we have mentioned this application to you.

I am, dear sir, your most obedient, humble servant,

PH. SCHUYLER.

President of the Board of Commissioners for Indian Affairs. N. Dep't.
COLONEL GANSEVOORT."

of the inhabitants of the frontiers, who have lately been driven from their settlements by the savages, praying they might have liberty to enter into the Mohawk's houses, whilst they could procure other habitations. And well-knowing these persons to have lately lost their all, humanity tempted me, in this particular, to act in some degree, contrary to orders. At this I could not but be confident of your approbation, especially when you are informed that this Castle is in the heart of our settlements and abounds with every necessary, so that it is remarked, that these Indians live much better than most of the Mohawk River farmers. Their houses were well furnished with all necessary household utensils, and great plenty of grain; several horses, cows and wagons, of all which I have an inventory, leaving them in care of Major Newkark of that place, who distributed the refugees in the several houses. Such being the situation, I did not allow the party to plunder.

The prisoners arrived at Albany the 2d instant, all closely secured in the fort. Yesterday the 7th, I received a letter from General Schuyler, (I have enclosed a copy,) respecting those prisoners, and desiring the sending the prisoners down might be postponed until an express arrived from his Excellency, General Washington. Agreeable to this request, a Sergeant and twelve men are detained to keep charge of the prisoners until his Excellency's pleasure is known. * * *

I am, Dear Sir, with Respect,

Your Most Obedient and Very Humble Servant,

PETER GANSEVOORT.*

HONORABLE MAJOR GENERAL SULLIVAN.

At the same time (September 20th,) a detachment of six hundred men under the command of Lieutenant-Col-

*Peter Gansevoort was of one of the oldest Albany Knickerbocker families, his great grandfather, Harmen Van Gansevoort, having settled in that place as early as 1660, and

onel William Butler,[†] of the Fourth Pennsylvania Regiment, was sent to lay waste the towns on the east side of the Cayuga Lake. Thomas Grant accompanied this detachment, and his journal, which unfortunately ends abruptly September 25th, and the journal of George Grant, Sergeant-Major of the Third New Jersey Regiment, with Sullivan's Report, are the principal sources of information in regard to their movements.

It was 3 o'clock P. M., when the detachments of Gansevoort and Butler set out from Kanadasaga for Skoi-yase, which they reached at dark and encamped there for the night. The next morning several fields of corn were dis-

owning a lot on the corner of Broadway and Maiden Lane, still held by his descendants. He was born at Albany, July 17th, 1749, and died July 2d, 1812. He was appointed by Congress, July 19th, 1775, a Major in the Second N. Y. Regiment, and joined the army under Montgomery, which invaded Canada. March 1, 1776, he was made Lieutenant-Colonel, and November 21st, of the same year, Colonel of the Third Regiment. In April, 1774, he took command of Fort Schuylcr, and gallantly defended it against the British under St. Leger, who, after besieging it from the 2d to the 22d of August, retreated. By preventing the co-operation of that officer with Burgoyne, he contributed largely to the defeat of the latter, and obtained the thanks of Congress. In the spring of 1779, he was ordered to join Sullivan in the Western Expedition, his regiment forming the left wing of Clinton's brigade. In 1781, the State of New York appointed him a Brigadier-General. He afterward filled a number of important offices, among which were Sheriff of Albany County, a Regent of the University of the State of New York, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and for fortifying the frontiers, Military Agent, and Brigadier-General in the United States Army.

[†]Colonel William Butler was the second of five brothers of a family who came from Ireland and settled in Cumberland County, Pa., prior to 1760.

On the formation of the 4th Regiment he was commissioned Lieutenant-Colonel, October 25th, 1776. As a military officer he early acquired considerable distinction. When, in the spring of 1778, the whole frontier was threatened by Indians and Tories, Timothy Pickering wrote to Washington for "an officer of established reputation for bravery and capacity," and adds, "if we are not misinformed, Lieutenant Colonel William Butler has been most conversant with the Indians and their mode of fighting."

Immediately after the battle of Monmouth, in which both his regiment and himself bore an important part, his regiment, with six companies of Morgan's riflemen, was stationed at Schoharie. Here his bravery and experience as an officer, which was second to none of his rank, rendered him greatly efficient in quieting the disaffected, and establishing confidence and courage among the people. In order to break up the haunts of the hostile Indians on the Susquehanna, Colonel Thomas Hartley, with the 11th Pennsylvania, ascended the river as far as Tioga, which he destroyed, together with Queen Esther's Plantation and Wyalusing; and about the same time, Colonel Butler, the riflemen and a corps of twenty rangers, marched to the waters of the Delaware, descended that stream for two days, and then struck off for the Susquehanna, which they reached at

covered about the town, which Major Scott,* with two hundred men, was detailed to destroy.

While Major Scott and his party were engaged in completing the destruction of Skoi-yase, the rest of the detachment pushed forward, at seven o'clock in the morning. A march of eleven miles brought them to Cayuga Lake, the outlet of which they crossed where it was seventy perches in width, wading up to their breasts in water. Just at the outlet of this lake was the old Indian town, Tiohero, which the Jesuit fathers called St. Stephen. The journalist says, "Near the outlet destroyed two Indian houses. The name of the place is Choharo." The site was on the east side of the river, at a point where it was crossed by the great trail, and near where it was afterward crossed by the Northern Turnpike. While they were destroying this place, Major Scott and his party overtook them. Five and a half miles farther, or sixteen

Unadilla The Indians fled on their approach, leaving behind great quantities of corn, some cattle and much of their household goods. Butler pushed on to Oghkwaga, which was a well-built Indian town, there being a number of good farm houses on each side of the river. Destroying both these towns, and an Indian castle three miles below, the mills at Unadilla, and the corn, Butler returned to Schoharie. He went down the river with Clinton in 1779, to Tioga, where he was transferred to Hand's Brigade. He served in the army until the close of the war, when he moved to Pittsburg. Here the remaining years of his life were spent in comparative quiet and comfort until his death, in 1789. He was buried in Trinity Church yard, Pittsburgh. The inscription upon the tablet erected to his memory has become well-nigh effaced by the storms of nearly a century.

*Major William Scott, of Cilley's 1st New Hampshire Regiment, was of Scotch-Irish descent, his father, Alexander, being one of the first settlers of Peterborough, moving into that town in 1742. While preparing a permanent settlement, he left his wife in Townsend, Mass., where William was born, May 1743. When seventeen years of age he became connected with Goff's regiment, and was noted for his energy and courage. In 1775, he was a Lieutenant in one of the Massachusetts Regiments, and fought with desperate courage. His leg was fractured early in an engagement in which his regiment participated, but he continued fighting until receiving other wounds, he fell and was taken prisoner. Upon the evacuation of Boston he was carried to Halifax and thrown into prison, but escaped by undermining its walls. He was in Fort Washington at the time of its surrender, November 17th, 1776, and was the only person who escaped, which he effected by swimming the Hudson by night, where it was a mile in width. He was promoted to a captaincy in a Massachusetts Regiment, but preferring the New Hampshire line, he accepted a captaincy in Cilley's Regiment. He was with the army until 1781, when he entered the naval service in which he continued until the close of the war. He died at Litchfield, N.H., September 10th, 1796, aged fifty-three years. *N. H. Hist. Coll.*

miles from Skoi-yase, the detachment encamped for the night at a small Indian settlement, a mile and a half from the Cayuga Castle, called Gewawga, located on the site of Union Springs. After leaving Choharo, the path kept near the lake shore, along which were several houses and corn fields that the detachment destroyed as it passed along.

Early in the morning of Wednesday, September 22d, the detachment reached Cayuga Castle. Thomas Grant describes this town as containing fifteen very large square log houses, and adds, "I think the buildings superior to any I have yet seen." Two other towns were in the immediate neighborhood; one, a mile south from the Castle and called by our men Upper Cayuga, containing fourteen large houses, and the other, two miles north-east of the Castle, (Grant says,) called by our men Cayuga, sometimes East Cayuga, or Old Town. In the vicinity of the Castle, were one hundred and ten acres of corn; besides apples, peaches, potatoes, turnips, onions, pumpkins, squashes and other vegetables in abundance. Major Grant describes Cayuga as a large and commodious town consisting of about fifty houses, but he evidently includes the three towns mentioned by Thomas Grant; he also adds that the troops found salt here, manufactured by the Indians from the salt springs near Choharo, some United States muskets and a few regimental coats. The Oneidas, who accompanied the detachment of Colonel Butler on their return to their own country and who had besought clemency for the Cayugas, were somewhat displeased with General Sullivan's answer to their petition, but, on searching the houses at Cayuga, some fresh scalps were discovered, which, being shown, to them convinced them of the justice of the course pursued by Sullivan. This town, the Cayuga Castle, probably occupied the same site as the one called by the French Jesuits, Goi-o-gouen, at which the mission of St. Joseph's was

established, and which General John S. Clark locates on the north side of Great Gully Brook. This corresponds with the distance (ten miles,) recorded by Mr. Benjamin Lodge, the Surveyor of the expedition, who accompanied this detachment. On his map Cayuga Castle is located on the north side of the stream, and Upper Cayuga on the south side of it.

The troops were employed until three o'clock, P. M., of the next day, in destroying this place when they marched to Chonodote, four and a half miles from Cayuga Castle, and which Mr. Lodge notes as "remarkable for its peach trees." There were fifteen hundred of them, some apple trees, and a number of acres of corn. This town consisted of twelve or fourteen houses, chiefly old buildings, and stood on the site of the village of Aurora. Here the army encamped for the night. Early the next morning, September 24th, the work of destruction commenced. As remorseless as a cannon shot, the axe levelled every tree though burdened with its load of luscious fruit, and the freshly ripened corn was gathered only to be destroyed. At 10 o'clock, A. M.,* the torch was applied to the dwellings, and as the crackling flames lifted their fiery heads over this scene of havoc and destruction, the detachment resumed its march. It was an hour after dark before the next encampment was reached, which was sixteen and a half miles south of Chonodote, beside a fine stream of water.

Early on Saturday morning, the 25th, the detachment resumed its march. After travelling seven miles, they reached the southern extremity of Cayuga Lake; going five miles farther, they came to the smoking ruins of a town destroyed by a party under Colonel Dearborn, the day before, of which I shall speak presently. Having destroyed the corn which was overlooked by the party

*September 24th, 1879, the one hundredth anniversary of the destruction of Chonodote was appropriately commemorated at Aurora, Cayuga County.

who burned the town, the troops encamped here for the night.

On the 26th and the 27th, the route for most of the way was through a pathless wilderness, where the sun and the surveyor's compass were the only guides. On the 28th the detachment rejoined the main army at Fort Reid, at Kanawaholla.

In his report General Sullivan sums up the results of this branch of the expedition as follows: "Colonel Butler destroyed, in the Cayuga country, five principal towns and a number of scattering houses, the whole making about one hundred in number, exceedingly large and well built. He also destroyed two hundred acres of excellent corn, with a number of orchards, one of which had one thousand five hundred fruit trees." The five towns destroyed were Skoi-yase, the three Cayugas and Chonodote.

We left General Sullivan with the main army at Kanasaga on the 20th. That day he crossed to the east side of the outlet and encamped. From this point, on Tuesday morning, the 21st, Colonel Dearborn* with two hundred men was sent to lay waste the country on the west side of Cayuga Lake. General Sullivan says: "I detached Colonel Dearborn to the west side of Cayuga Lake, to destroy all the settlements which might be found

*Henry Dearborn was born at Hampton, N. H., March, 1751, studied medicine, but, hearing of the battle of Lexington enlisted sixty volunteers and joined Stark's New Hampshire Regiment. He was at Bunker Hill with his company, where he fought most bravely. In September, he joined Arnold's expedition and marched through the wilds of Maine and Canada for Quebec, and in the assault upon that city was taken prisoner. In March, 1777, he was exchanged and appointed Major of Scammel's Regiment. He fought with such gallantry in the battle of Stillwater and Saratoga as to be noticed in orders by General Gates. He was at Yorktown in 1781, at the surrender of Cornwallis. He was for two terms Member of Congress, and was Secretary of War from 1801 to 1809, under Jefferson, after which he was appointed collector of the port of Boston. In 1812, he was appointed Senior Major-General in the Army of the United States, and captured York in Canada, and Fort George, at the mouth of the Niagara. He was subsequently recalled from the frontier and put in command of New York City. In the summer of 1822, he was appointed minister plenipotentiary to Portugal, but after an absence of two years was recalled at his own request, and retired to private life. General Dearborn was a man of large size, gentlemanly deportment, and one of the bravest and most gallant men of his time. He died at Roxbury, Mass., June 6th, 1829, aged 78 years.

there, and to intercept the Cayugas if they should attempt to escape Colonel Butler."

The journal of Colonel Dearborn and that of Major James Norris of the same Regiment, Third New Hampshire, and the Seneca County *Courier*, are the principal sources of information.

At eight o'clock the detachment left the main army, and taking almost a direct easterly course, came to three wigwams in the woods, where were also several patches of corn, cucumbers, melons, peas, etc.; they also found near here fifteen horses. Advancing four miles farther, they reached the shore of Cayuga Lake at a very pretty town consisting of ten houses, which, with a considerable quantity of corn, was destroyed. A mile south of this point was another town called Skanagutenate; going a mile farther south, they found a third village, described by Norris as a new town, consisting of nine houses, and a mile beyond, they found a large house, all which they burned, and Dearborn encamped for the night about two miles above the large house. Counting the three wigwams a village, as both Dearborn and Norris do, and the results of this day's work were the destruction of four towns and numerous corn fields, and a march estimated at seventeen miles. The relative situation of these three towns on the west side of the lake was very similar to that of the three Cayugas on the opposite side. The first little cluster of wigwams was located near the reservation line on the small stream that enters the Seneca river above Seneca Falls, in the town of Fayette. Skanagutenate, the central one of the three, was situated on the bank of Canoga Creek, the second, the one unnamed, being a mile north, and the one called Newtown on the Disinger farm, a mile south. This is a point hardly second in historical interest to Cayuga itself, and its destruction was a severe blow to the Cayuga nation. While it is not germane to my topic to discuss questions

on general history outside of this campaign, it may be allowed me to say, that, as the birth-place of Red Jacket, the great Iroquois orator, and opposite the burial-place of Queen Esther, of Wyoming notoriety, this point, Canoga, must possess peculiar interest to the antiquarian, and the student of Indian history.

After marching five miles the next day, the detachment came to the ruins of a town burned by the pack-horse drivers connected with Colonel Gansevoort's Regiment. Beatty, under date of September 6th, says: "This evening came up four or five pack-horsemen, who lost themselves yesterday, and told us that they took the wrong path, and went on till near night when they came to a small Indian town on Cayuga Lake, which the Indians had abandoned. They then found out their mistake and came to us as soon as possible, after burning the houses. They likewise got a very fine horse, and a great number of peaches and apples which they brought to camp." Dr. Campfield adds, they were Colonel Gansevoort's servants. This town, Dearborn calls Swah-ya wa-nah, and adds "a half mile distant found a large field of corn and three houses. We gathered the corn out and burnt it in the houses." This town was built on the banks of a stream which passes through the farm of Mr. Edward Dean, opposite to Aurora.

The detachment pushed on about five miles where they found a hut occupied by three squaws and a crippled Indian lad. Two of the squaws were taken captive, the others were left. Three miles beyond this, they found another hut and a field of corn; both were destroyed and the party encamped four miles farther up the lake, twelve miles from Swah-ya-wa-nah, and seventeen from the last encampment.

The march on the 23d was one of great fatigue. Setting out at sunrise, without any path, or map, or guide, no one of the party having ever been there before, they

advanced over what both journalists call "a horribly rough country" which was so thickly covered with bushes that the men with great difficulty pushed their way through them. After travelling about nine miles, they found themselves at the end of a long cape, now known as Goodwin's Point or Taghanic, which they had mistaken for the end of the Lake. The detachment then struck off two or three miles to the west, and after marching by point of compass, about eight miles farther, came to the end of the Lake and encamped.

On the 24th, Dearborn put his force in motion at sunrise, and soon struck an old path which led to some huts and corn fields. Supposing that he was near an important Indian town, which was reported to be at the head of the Lake, he divided his force into small parties and sent them in different directions to look for it. In their search several scattered houses and corn fields were discovered and destroyed. At length the town was found situated on the Inlet creek, about three miles from the Lake. The town consisted of twenty-five houses, and, says Norris, is called Co-re-or-go-nel, who adds that "it is the capital of a small nation or tribe called —." Major Grant, who was in Butler's detachment and reached this town the next day after Dearborn, calls the place De Ho Riss Kanadai, and says it was situated on the west side of the stream in a beautiful valley, and the creek was deep enough for canoes to pass from the town to the lake at any time. This site of this town has been identified by General Clark, at a point of rising ground, south of the school-house on the farm of Mr. James Flemming, and opposite to Buttermilk Falls. Dearborn's party was from nine o'clock in the morning until sunset, in destroying the crops and orchards about this place. The next day some of Colonel Butler's men found here the horse of the Rev. Dr. Kirkland, the missionary to the Oneidas, and one of the chaplains to the expedition.

The locality of this town is one of great interest to the antiquarian. In 1753, a remnant of a nation of the Catawbas called Christannas, having been nearly exterminated by the Iroquois, were planted here by the Cayugas. Soon after, a party of Monseys and the remnant of the nation of Tutelos, were allowed to settle here. In 1765, the Cayuga Sachem desired to remove the Christian Indians at Wyalusing, to the head of Cayuga Lake, which he was induced to forego at the earnest persuasion of the missionaries. But now, as for nearly a century past, over their buried bones and slumbering ashes, the march of the white man's civilization goes sweeping by; and the glimmering water of the Lake over which the Cayuga skimmed in his birchen canoe, are whitened by the sails of the white man's commerce.

Early in the morning of the 25th, Colonel Dearborn set out to join the main army, and by taking a due west course reached Catharine's about four o'clock P. M. Finding the army had passed that place, his men, though wearied by the difficult march, pushed on six miles farther and encamped on the edge of the swamp, and the next day reached the main army.

General Sullivan thus reports concerning this detachment. "Colonel Dearborn burnt in his route, six towns, which include one that had before been partly destroyed by a small party, destroying at the same time large quantities of corn. He took an Indian lad and three women, prisoners; one of the women being very ancient, and the lad a cripple, he left them and brought on the other two, and joined the army on the evening of the 26th." The six towns destroyed, were the four burned the first day, together with Swahyawana, and Co-re-or-go-nel.

The main army which we left near the Seneca river on the 21st, reached Kanawaholla on the 24th, where Captain Reid had collected considerable stores of provisions and liquor, which were liberally distributed among the

men, and the 25th was given as a day of rejoicing over the news of the alliance of Spain with the United States, and over the success of the expedition. Colonel Jenkins says, "Five oxen were barbacued, and a great plenty of liquor to drink." In General Hand's Brigade, thirteen fires and thirteen candles were kept burning, and thirteen toasts were drank. A salute of thirteen cannon and a *feu-de-joie* were fired at evening. While waiting for the several detachments of his army to come in, Sullivan sent Colonel Courtlandt and Captain Simon Spalding, each with a force, up the Chemung, who destroyed everything as far as Painted Post.

Colonel Butler's detachment joined the army on the 28th, and next day it set out for Tioga, where on the 30th, Colonel Shreeve received them with demonstrations of joy, amid thunders of artillery, lively strains of music by drum and fife and by Proctor's regimental band. After feasting both officers and men, and pouring out pretty free libations to Bacchus, the whole was concluded with an Indian dance under the direction of an Oneida Chief, led off by General Hand. One of the journals says, the clothes of the men were torn into shreds by the bushes and brambles through which, for more than a month, they had been marching, and observes, that as the men joined in the dance, with their heads powdered with flour, their faces bedaubed with paint, and their fringed and shredded rifle frocks streaming in the wind, they presented an appearance at once weird and grotesque. One of the narrators of the story says: "every body laughed; even our grave chaplain could not repress a smile."

In this expedition, the army had burned forty Indian villages, destroyed 200,000 bushels of corn, besides thousands of fruit trees and great quantities of beans and potatoes. It might be said to be literally true of this army, that "the land was as the Garden of Eden before them, and behind them a desolate wilderness."

On the 3d of October Fort Sullivan was demolished, and on the 4th the army set out for Wyoming, which was reached on the 7th. Notwithstanding the severities of the campaign, the total loss was less than forty men, or one per cent. of the entire force.

Sullivan left Wyoming October 10th, and reached Easton the 15th, where a thanksgiving service was held, and then the army hastened to join that of Washington. Congress passed a vote of thanks in which the officers and men were complimented in the highest terms, and Washington did not hesitate to express his satisfaction with the management of the campaign, and its results, in the most flattering language.

The expedition was more disastrous to the Indians than at first might appear. They returned to their blackened homes and wasted cornfields, and looked with despair upon the waste and ruin before them. They now began to feel the iron they had so ruthlessly thrust into the bosom of others. Mary Jemison says there was nothing left, not enough to keep a child. Again they wended their way to Niagara, where huts were built for them around the fort. The winter following was the coldest ever known, and prevented the Indians going on their winter hunt. Cooped up in their little huts and obliged to subsist on salted provisions, the scurvy broke out amongst them, and hundreds of them died. Those the sword had spared, the pestilence destroyed.

The power of the Iroquois was broken. That great confederation whose influence had once been so potent, crumbled under the iron heel of the invader, and the nation which had made so many tremble, itself quailed before the white man's steel. It is true that as long as the war continued, they kept up their depredations, but it was in squads of five or six, seldom as many as twenty. We have no repetitions of Wyoming or Cherry Valley. It was a terrible blow, but one which they brought upon

themselves by their own perfidy and treachery and cruelty. The sacking of so many homes, the destruction of so much that was valuable, awakens in every civilized heart the sentiment of pity for their loss, but the act was as justifiable as that which slays the assassin at your door, or the man who is applying the torch to your dwelling.

Colonel Stone remarks: "With the exception of Newtown, the achievements of the army in battle were not great. But it had scoured a broad extent of country, and laid more towns in ashes than had ever been destroyed on the continent before. The red men were driven from their beautiful country—their habitations left in ruins, their fields laid waste, their orchards uprooted, and their altars and the tombs of their fathers overthrown."

To the New England troops, who had been accustomed to the rocky soil and the steep hillsides of their native States, these broad and fertile valleys seemed like another Eden, and no sooner had war furled her crimson banners, than these hardy sons of the east, shouldered knapsack and axe, and again bent their footsteps toward these beautiful valleys; here they built their homes and reared their children, planted the institutions of liberty and religion and builded an empire whose exhaustless wealth and tireless enterprise and increasing grandeur, make it the crowning glory of this Empire State, and a living example of her glorious motto, *Excelsior*.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE BY REV. DAVID CRAFT.

In General Sullivan's official reports, he claimed to have lost from all causes, less than forty men, and to have destroyed forty towns, fourteen of which were destroyed by Clinton and himself, prior to the 30th of August. This statement has been doubted by some critics, and Sul-

livan's veracity in his official report virtually questioned. A careful collation of the journals gives the following results :

LOSS OF MEN.

One, a boatman, drowned, a soldier died at Vanderlip's and Sergeant Martin Johnson at Wyalusing, all August 5th. At Tioga, Jabez Elliott was killed by Indians, August 15th; Philip Helter, August 17th, and Captain Benjamin Kimball, accidentally, August 23d. Seven were killed at Chemung, August 12th; three were killed and five died of wounds received at the battle of Newtown; seventeen perished at Groveland, including Corporal Calhoun and Hanyerry; Lieutenant Boyd and Sergeant Parker at Little Beard's town, making a total of forty. Besides, one soldier died at Wyoming, and one rifleman was killed while Clinton was at the foot of Otsego Lake.

TOWNS DESTROYED.

The following are the fourteen towns destroyed previous to the 31st of August, with the dates of their destruction:

1. Newtychanning, at the mouth of Sugar Creek, August 9th.
2. Old Chemung, near present town, August 13th.
3. New Chemung, August 13th.
4. Newtown, August 31st.
5. Small village at the fortifications, August 29th.
6. New Buildings on Baldwin's Creek, August 29th.
7. A small village on Seely Creek, August 30th.
8. Albout, a Scotch Tory settlement, five miles above Unadilla, August 12th, by Clinton.
9. Shawhiangto, near present Windsor, Broome county, August 17th.
10. Ingaren or Tuscarora, at Great Bend, August 17th.
11. Otsiningo, four miles north of Binghamton, August 18th.

12. Choconut or Chugnut, August 19th, by Poor.
13. Owegy, near present Owego, August 19th.
14. Manekatawangum or Red Bank, near Barton, N. Y.

Subsequently the following towns were destroyed:

15. Middletown, 3 miles above Newtown, August 31st.
16. Kanawaholla, site of Elmira, August 31st.
17. Runonvea, near Big Flats, August 31st, Colonel Dayton.
18. Sheoquaga, Havana, September 1st.
19. Peach Orchard, September 3d.
20. Condawhaw, North Hector, September 4th.
21. Kendaia, September 5th.
22. Butler's Buildings, at the foot of Seneca Lake, September 7th.
23. Kanadasaga, near present Geneva, September 7th.
24. Gothseungquean, (Kershong), on the west side of Seneca Lake, September 8th.
25. Skoi yase, now Waterloo, September 8th.
26. Kanandaigua, September 10th.
27. Haneyaye, September 11th.
28. Kanaghsaws, September 13th.
29. Gathsegwarohare, September 13th.
30. Genesee Castle, September 15th.

Besides these, six towns were destroyed by Colonel Dearborn, and five by Colonel Butler.

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